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STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY
OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS.

SECRÉTAIRE
D'ÉTAT AUX
AFFAIRES
EXTÉRIEURES.



NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
TO THE LECTURE FORUM SERIES,
THE CHICAGO COUNCIL OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,
AT CHICAGO, APRIL 3, 1973



STATEMENT
DISCOURS

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I was very pleased to be invited to be the concluding speaker in this distinguished Lecture Forum Series and I am delighted to be in Chicago again after a long absence.

I follow a well-worn path of Canadian leaders to Chicago - two Prime Ministers have acknowledged a formative debt to this city. The Chicago influence on both of them was divergent but important. MacKenzie King was a fellow in economics at the University of Chicago while Mike Pearson had his first taste of practical administrative experience in the fertilizer branch of a large Chicago corporation. I cannot claim such a close connection with the city -- but as a Mid-Westerner, born and raised in Winnipeg, I have a special feeling for this part of our continent -- sometimes even for the wind and snow which, after hockey players, are, I suppose, our most apparent export to this city.

I also welcome this opportunity to speak to an American audience about the relations between our two countries. It was less than a year ago that I spoke on this subject in the United States. Looking back over the rush of intervening events, it seems very much longer. The international monetary system is being shaken into significant and sometimes difficult adjustments. It has become increasingly evident that the post-war era is drawing to an end. Our economic geography is changing with the enlargement of the European Common Market and the ever-increasing economic power of Japan. But of considerably greater importance to you was the achievement of the cease-fire agreement in Viet-Nam -- bringing American military disengagement, a return of the prisoners and, it is still hoped, perhaps an end to a generation of bitter warfare in that unfortunate land.

A week ago today I announced in the House of Commons that Canada had decided not to exercise its option to withdraw from the International Commission of Control and Supervision in Viet-Nam after 60 days -- but to remain for a further period of 60 days -- that is, until the 31st of May. At that time, unless there has been some substantial improvement or distinct progress made toward a political settlement, Canada will withdraw from the ICCS -- allowing a further 30 days grace period for the Parties to find a replacement.

This was not an easy decision for us to reach. Our dilemma was this: Canadians remain anxious to serve the cause of peace in Indochina as long as there is the slightest hope of a peaceful solution to which the Canadian presence or function on the Commission can usefully contribute. But at the same time the Government was resolved that Canadians should not take part in a charade in which they would be required to supervise -- not a cease-fire -- but continuing and possibly escalating hostilities.

Put another way, Canada's international reputation is closely associated with our contribution to international efforts to make peacekeeping and peace supervision a reality. Our credibility in that role is very much on the line in Viet-Nam.

In making our decision we were very conscious that of the various alternative courses of action, there was not one which would meet all of the demands being made upon us or which would command universal approval outside Canada.

Our approach to participation in the Commission was shaped at the very outset by our 19 years of largely frustrating experiences in the old International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam. Many of you may not have heard of that previous Commission. If so, you are blameless because for roughly 17 years of that period, the old Commission was ineffective. From watching over a peace the Commission found itself watching over a war.

On the basis of this experience, we presented to the negotiators of the Paris Agreement on Viet-Nam a set of conditions which, if met, would have in our view made the peacekeeping arrangements practical and credible. Some of these points were accepted but when the final documents appeared, it was clear that supervisory arrangements left much to be desired.

We were particularly concerned about the establishment of a continuing political authority to which the Commission and its members could report. This had been a serious omission in the old Commission's arrangements. As leader of the Canadian delegation at the Paris Conference at the end of February, I pressed hard but with only very modest success.

I do not intend by these remarks to suggest in any way that the negotiators did not do their job. As I have said before on many occasions, this was undoubtedly the best agreement that could have been negotiated in the circumstances -- and I should hope that the results have, in spite of everything, turned the course of world events in a new and more peaceful direction.

I returned from Paris with the dilemma of whether or not to stay on still very much unresolved. I concluded that it would not be possible to reach an informed decision without having seen for myself the conditions in which the ICCS was operating or without having spoken directly to leaders of the governments most directly concerned. I had previously had several useful conversations with Secretary of State Rogers and was well aware of the views of your government. I wanted to have the views of others as well.

Accordingly three weeks ago today I set off with a group of Canadian parliamentarians, officials and journalists on a trip which put me in touch with both Vietnamese governments, the Government of Laos, as well as some leading personalities of the so-called Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam and of the Pathet Lao movement.

I found the attitudes of the leaders of the Republic of Viet-Nam very straightforward. They have no illusion that the Commission would be able to discharge effectively the responsibilities set out in the Paris Agreement. I explained frankly to the Vietnamese both in the South and in the North that the composition of the Commission made it extremely unlikely that the Commission would ever reach a finding unfavourable to the North or to its allies in the South. At the same time I said that Canada would not hesitate to support a finding detrimental to the position of the Republic of Viet-Nam where such a finding corresponded with the facts. South Vietnamese leaders acknowledged this. But for them the important thing was to bring all points of view into the open.

In the North the political leaders replied to all of our questions by referring us to the terms of the Paris Agreement. They regarded this as sacrosanct and like their counterparts in the South declared they intended to abide by it.

I asked Prime Minister Pham Van Dong which he regarded as having the highest priority, his country's desire for peace or the reunification of Viet-Nam as a whole. He replied that the question of priorities did not arise as strict observance of the agreement would lead to peaceful reunification. It was clear from these conversations that both North and South Viet-Nam expected different and in some respects contradictory results.

This was a brief but very intense exposure to the facts of life in the Commission and to the attitudes of those most directly concerned. There can be no doubt that all of us on this visit came back with at least one common impression: that was that the Commission was not performing the tasks assigned to it under the cease-fire agreement -- and this, in spite of the very considerable efforts of the Canadian delegation under Ambassador Gauvin to make it work.

We received another message in several of the discussions in Indochina: that we should not be too exercised as to whether or not the Commission was functioning as it was intended. A number of people suggested to us that there was a very different but quite vital role for the Commission which is nowhere hinted at in the texts of the Agreement or the Protocols. This was to provide an international presence which would be seen as an indication of the continued involvement of the world community in the Viet-Nam situation. In other words, although the Commission may not be indispensable for the purposes of the cease-fire agreement, its absence would be taken as an indication that the agreement lacked world support and consequently our withdrawal could become a further destabilizing psychological factor in an already very fragile situation.

And so for these reasons we decided to remain in the Commission for a further period of 60 days.

We have made it clear, however, and indeed this was one of our earliest conditions of service, that we would leave or otherwise modify our deployment in the field at any time if the Parties to the agreement demonstrated by their actions that they no longer regarded themselves as bound by it.

Resumption of large-scale hostilities or any action tantamount to a direct denial by the Parties of their obligations under the agreement would, in my view, relieve Canada of further responsibility to the ICCS.

I am not predicting that the arduous and skilful work which led to the agreement will be nullified by an early escalation of hostilities. The present situation is an obvious improvement over the situation that existed before January 28. The Commission had its role to play in these developments and if it did nothing else but help to provide the framework within which these accomplishments were made possible that has been, up to the present, ample justification for our role.

In concluding these comments on Viet-Nam let me make one general observation affecting bilateral relations between your country and mine -- and it is this. It seems to me to be in the interests of both our countries that as a member of the ICCS Canada should be -- and should appear to the world to be -- an impartial, objective observer, reporting the facts as we see them, even if this may mean that from time to time we reach conclusions critical of the United States or its ally, the Republic of Viet-Nam. It is no service to the cause of international peace

As a member of the ICCS Canada has followed what we call an "open mouth" policy -- we have been open and direct in public statements in the belief that by so doing we can contribute to better understanding of the tasks confronting the International Commission in Viet-Nam.

Now let me see if I can contribute to better understanding of Canadian attitudes toward the United States by some friendly and frank talk about economic developments affecting relations between our two countries.

First, some simple and obvious facts. Total trade between our two countries exceeds 25 billion dollars annually. We are each other's best customer. Your overall trade with us is double that of your trade with Japan, your next largest trading partner. We invest heavily in each other -- in per capita terms Canadian investment in the United States exceeds that of American investment in Canada. This will probably strike you as a very satisfactory and mutually rewarding arrangement. In most respects it is.

However, there is a catch -- and that is found in the disproportionate size of our economies. You are ten times larger in population and eleven times larger in gross national product. Thus the degree of Canadian ownership of the American economy is negligible, whereas U.S. investment in Canada results in about 50% American control of Canadian manufacturing industries. In some sectors including automobiles and petrochemicals, the percentage of U.S. ownership is much higher.

You are the market for some 70% of our total exports. We purchase about 69% of our total imports from you. These figures speak for themselves about the intimacy of our economic involvement. They leave no doubt that when Washington, Chicago or New York sneezes, the draught is felt in most parts of Canada. Conversely a native Canadian virus is less contagious in the United States.

What about trends? The United States' share of our exports and of imports has grown gradually over the years particularly as the proportion of traditional trans-Atlantic trade declined. The growth of U.S. investment in Canada has followed a steeper upward curve. The United States' share of net direct foreign investment in Canada has been running recently at 80 to 90% of the total.

Project these figures some years ahead, taking into account the recent acceleration of economic polarization and you will readily understand Canadian anxieties. You will understand why we were so concerned about the 10% surcharge on imports by the United States Government in August 1971 in order to help meet your balance of payments deficit.

It was ~~against~~ this economic background that the Canadian Government embarked on a comprehensive assessment of our relationship with the United States. Basically we were confronted with one towering dilemma: whether or not interdependence with a giant superpower would impose an unmanageable strain on the concept of Canadian identity and on a number of key elements of our independence. Put another way the question before us was, "Is it possible to devise a means of living distinct from but in harmony with the United States?"

The question was essentially one of direction. To my colleagues and me there appeared to be three broad paths of options open to us:

1. we could seek to maintain more or less our present relationship with the United States with a minimum of policy adjustments;
2. we could move deliberately toward closer integration with the United States; and
3. we could pursue a comprehensive, long-term strategy to develop and strengthen the Canadian economy and other aspects of our national life and in the process to reduce the present Canadian vulnerability.

The first option would maintain more or less intact the present pattern of our economic and political relationship with the United States. It would involve a minimum of deliberate policy change. Its virtue lies in its appearance of cautious pragmatism. However, this option assumes a static situation which does not exist. It ignores the strength and momentum of the continental pull which could, in time, overwhelm us.

The second option accepts the proposition that the intensifying relationships inherent in modern society and in economies of scale must lead to closer integration with the United States. There are undoubtedly some attractions to this in material terms.

It can be argued that the Europeans are moving in this direction and are doing so successfully. However, the parallel does not stand up to inspection. European identities are older and their roots more deeply anchored. The Common Market countries are much more equal in resources and power.

The enormous disparity in power between the United States and Canada and the relative youth of our national character place us in an entirely different position. In our circumstances the process of economic harmonization, once in motion, is more likely to spill over and to dominate other areas of our national life.

The test of the validity of this option is essentially political. The implications of integration are quite widely known to Canadians -- and the temper of my country as I judge it -- is opposed to integration.

A central purpose of the third option would be to make the Canadian economy more resilient to external shocks. The path to this objective is the development of a more balanced and efficient economy. The option involves reorganization, specializing and rationalization. It looks to the emergence of healthy industrial and service enterprises in Canadian hands. This course seeks to avoid the

situation, in which by dealing with bilateral questions on an ad hoc basis, looking only to their immediate or short-term implications, we find ourselves integrated by default. In our view the third option faces up squarely to the future of our relations with the United States -- and appears to offer the only route by which Canada can live "distinct from but in harmony" with the United States.

All three options are, of course, abstractions. Like all abstractions, they tend to simplify complex matters. But the distinctions they draw between the various courses open to Canada are basically valid and useful. Each option can be argued on its merits. Each has costs; costs in terms of identity, flexibility, independence and inter-dependence.

The Canadian Government has given these options and their costs long and careful consideration. The conclusion the Government has reached is quite clear. We believe that the best choice for Canadians and one that increasingly reflects the mood of Canadians is option three.

This option does reflect our anxieties about the degree of continental pull. But it is not anti-American. Far from it -- and I would like this to be very clear. Policies designed within the general framework of this option are intended to meet Canadian aspirations, to build on Canadian maturity and confidence, and in so doing reduce the irritations and frustrations which sometimes find outlet in shrill and unseemly anti-Americanism.

I have no doubt that there are times when you and some of your compatriots in Washington would welcome a less neurotic outlook from your neighbour.

In the sense that this policy is intended to produce a more resilient and mature Canadian economy, it is likely to become a more effective stabilizing factor within the continental context. The alternative is, as I have made clear, increasing integration. Increasing integration can only strengthen the protectionist forces which are abroad today with consequent dangers to both economic and political stability in the world at large. What I am saying is that over the long run, option three is in the best interest of both our countries.

It is also consistent with the view that President Nixon set before the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa last year. On that occasion the President said,

"It is time for Canadians and Americans to move beyond the sentimental rhetoric of the past. It is time for us to recognize:

-- that we have very separate identities;

-- that we have significant differences;

-- and that nobody's interests are furthered when these realities are obscured".

He also had this to say:

"Our policy toward Canada reflects the new approach we are taking in all of our foreign relations -- an approach which has been called the Nixon Doctrine. The doctrine rests on the premise that mature partners must have autonomous independent policies:

-- each nation must define the nature of its own interests;

-- each nation must decide the requirements of its own security;

-- each nation must determine the path of its own progress.

What we seek is a policy which enables us to share international responsibilities in a spirit of international partnership."

"No self-respecting nation can or should accept the proposition that it should always be economically dependent upon any other nation."

Thus, the Canadian view of our relationship does not diverge in essentials from the American view. My bias is, of course, Canadian but I do not ignore the economic hazards faced by all of us on this continent. You face a serious challenge -- of that we are acutely aware. The United States trade deficit is huge and reflects the mounting volume of imports. You face the prospects of a rising deficit in energy requirements. The dollar has been devalued twice. Against this background, there are influential voices in this country charging that the international trading system no longer serves the American national interest.

We are greatly heartened that your government has stood up to these pressures and has remained basically outward-looking, rejecting isolationism as a tenable option. It is very much aware that the dynamics of the American economy and the genius of American technology still exert an enormous impact upon the world. Just as Washington has held to the view that global peace and stability require a continuing United States role.

At the same time your President has drawn attention to the growing imbalance in the scope of America's role and the potential contributions of America's partners. As we see it, the Nixon doctrine seeks to reflect these realities: that a major U.S. role in the world remains indispensable and that other nations should assume greater responsibilities.

Inevitably even the best of friends and allies, as Canada and the United States are, disagree from time to time on international issues. Although the results at times appear abrasive, one of the essential elements of genuine friendship between two nations is the capacity to speak frankly and as each sees it, constructively to one another. The irritants and differences which sometimes arise do not, however, obscure from us an awareness of the burdens which your country bears.

And there are irritants. There have been in the past and will be in the future. Some are the inevitable result of different outlooks on particular questions. Others tend to be misunderstandings -- in part or in whole. Of the present roster of difficulties between us, I believe that many fall into this latter category. Let me give you some examples.

For some time it was felt in this country that Canada was one of the culprits contributing to the serious American international trade deficit. This view was supported by your statistics which, as sometimes happens in our computer age, were contradicted by our statistics. The discrepancy for 1972 was in the neighbourhood of 1.5 billion dollars. Happily our statisticians are now getting together and managing to reconcile the differences. For example, on the 1970 trade figures what the U.S. side thought was a 2 billion dollar deficit for them and what Canada thought was a 1 billion dollar surplus for us has turned out to be, in fact, a surplus of 1.4 billion dollars for Canada. Similarly, on current account -- which is a more reliable indicator as it takes into account the flow of invisibles such as investment income, dividends and interest payments -- a reconciliation has taken place for 1970. In this case what the United States thought was a 600 million dollar deficit for them and what Canada thought was a 200 million dollar deficit for us has turned out to be a 100 million dollar surplus for Canada. For 1972, our figures, including invisibles, show a current account deficit with the United States of 416 million dollars. We expect that when the Canadian and U.S. figures are finally reconciled, Canada will remain in a deficit position.

Washington has been, understandably, sensitive about the efforts or lack of efforts by the world community to stand behind American efforts to stabilize the international monetary situation. The devaluation of the dollar has, of course, been a key initiative in efforts to achieve a reasonable international monetary equilibrium. There was at one time a feeling in some quarters in the United States that the floating Canadian dollar has exempted us from the intended impact of the American measures. It has also been suggested that our float is managed to our advantage. However, I am pleased to say that the question marks in Washington about the "cleanness" of our float have been overcome. The Canadian dollar has floated downward with market forces and has largely maintained its previous relationship with the American dollar.

Legislative proposals concerning foreign takeovers and new foreign investment were introduced recently in our Parliament in Ottawa. These proposals fit the general framework of our option three and their purpose is to ensure greater control by Canadians over the Canadian economy. This is the sort of thing which sends shivers of alarm through the free enterprise system. There has been some reaction of this nature from the United States based essentially on a misunderstanding of our intentions.

It is quite true that the purpose of this legislation is to resist the erosion of Canadian ownership but this does not mean the exclusion or curtailment of American or other foreign capital. It is a sign of the greater maturity of our economy that we will not in the future require the same kind of inflow of foreign capital that we have had in the past if our full potential is to be developed. What we are doing is being more selective about the terms on which foreign capital enters Canada to prevent, in some cases, the takeover of existing viable Canadian enterprises.

To illustrate this problem I should point out that about 17% of the net annual capital inflow is used to purchase going concerns rather than to develop new industries or new units in existing industries. It is in areas such as this that our new screening process will focus. If the result of an individual American takeover would be the withdrawal of research and development from Canada to the United States, the replacement of Canadian management by American management and the removal of that enterprise from the international export market -- and there

have been takeovers in the past with precisely this effect -- such a takeover would almost certainly be prevented by the new legislation. I am sure you would agree that this legislation cannot be described as anti-American or for that matter anti-foreign.

Most developed countries including the United States face problems of regional economic disparities. One remedy includes government incentives and subsidies. The purpose of regional assistance is to preserve and create more jobs in areas of chronically high unemployment. The effectiveness of these remedies often depends on whether adequate markets can be found to sustain the enterprise that government assistance has salvaged or brought into being. The problem of reconciling the need for fair international market competition with the government's obligations to help depressed regions is beginning to emerge as a vexing problem, another irritant in our bilateral relations.

A case in point is the Michelin tire plant which was set up with government assistance in Nova Scotia -- in an economically depressed region of Canada. The plant's tire production requires an export market in addition to the Canadian market. Because Washington ruled that the government's assistance to Michelin interfered with traditional market forces, a countervail was raised against Michelin exports. However, in our view a dislocation of trade is not involved. American concern is that the Michelin plant involved instead a transfer of employment from the United States to Canada. As it happened, the only transfer was within Canada -- from one region to another. The methods by which the transfer was effected were in accordance with the international rules covering such matters -- to which Canada subscribes but the United States does not.

In these circumstances, you will understand Canadian concern about the wider implications which the decision has for the Canadian Government's obligation to implement an effective regional development policy.

There is great interest in the United States today in international energy developments, and Canada-United States relations in this sector are important to both countries. A number of factors have converged to bring home to many people some hard truths about the world's growing demand for hydrocarbons. Quite naturally there has been some focus on Canadian oil supplies, particularly since some of the shortages in the U.S. have occurred in areas using Canadian imports. For more than a decade, our exports have grown rapidly, and almost all go to the United States in the form of raw material for your refineries.

However, recent growth in the United States demand has strained our capacity to produce and transport oil. The continuity of supply of Canadian oil to our domestic refiners was threatened. And while Canada's national energy policy has been and remains to export quantities which are clearly surplus to our domestic requirements, recent and foreseeable future growth in export demand for oil has reached a level requiring close observation. This is necessary if we are to be assured of meeting foreseeable requirements in Canada.

For this reason, the Canadian Government recently introduced export controls on oil. This step to control export growth represents a change in the manner of implementing our national oil policy, but not a change in the policy itself. It is the increase in world energy demand -- and especially that of the United States itself -- that has caused us to make this change and not, of course, any wish to be unreasonable to the United States.

The fact is that Canada's known reserves are limited. Even if the United States, with modifications now in its own import controls, were to have free access to our known supplies, these would help only marginally to reduce your rapidly growing dependence on offshore supplies.

The search for new reserves in the Canadian North and off our East Coast is well underway. We are hopeful that important major discoveries will result, but we cannot count upon these yet. Our export controls are an interim measure. We are going to hold public hearings and we shall be considering, in the light of the views of all interested parties, what appropriate changes in methods may be needed over the longer term to protect the Canadian interest.

We are fully aware that your President will shortly seek authority in respect of tariff and other barriers to international trade. Authority to negotiate these barriers down would facilitate meaningful discussions with the USA's trading partners in the course of the multilateral negotiations in GATT, which we firmly hope will open before the year is out. Obviously the United States, the enlarged European Common Market, and Japan are major factors in these negotiations which potentially could be more sweeping and significant than either the Dillon or Kennedy Rounds. In these circumstances it would be unfortunate if the road to further progress toward the liberalization of international trade were to be impeded, and if instead a negative atmosphere of confrontation were to arise in the relations among these leading economic powers. The repercussions of such a confrontation would fall not only on those directly involved, but also on major trading nations such as Canada, whose interests and positions are distinctive and who are not associated with any of these larger economic powers or groupings. Finally, in such a confrontation it would be all too easy to overlook the interests of the developing countries who perhaps have the most to gain -- or lose -- in these negotiations: measures will need to be taken to ensure that the developing countries emerge from these negotiations with greater scope for full and beneficial participation in the growth of world trade.

The problems I have been discussing are more challenging now because of the rapid pace and complexity of the international economic climate. It is our view that the recent Canadian budget has made a small but meaningful contribution to improving that climate. While essentially our budget is intended to deal with the economic situation in Canada, it should be helpful in the present international situation. It provides a number of very substantial tariff cuts affecting 1.3 billion dollars worth of Canadian imports. This is a significant figure -- amounting to about one half of our reductions in the Kennedy Round. The United States is the principal beneficiary of these reductions.

What I have said so far would suggest that Canada's preoccupations with her neighbour are essentially economic. Our relationship is much more complex than that.

One element -- culture -- has a dimension of its own. Canadians are, of course, North Americans and much of our cultural heritage has a common base with you. But our perception of ourselves, the values and traditions which are distinctively Canadian are becoming an increasingly important part of the quality and flavour of our society.

Our traditions are young. With the notable exception of French Canada, they tend to be of more recent vintage than yours. Their roots are not as robust as yours. They are more prone to dilution and perhaps to extinction in the face of the enormously pervasive projection of your life style, values and culture.

We could, if we determined to do so, prevent the sale in Canada of -- say brand X of American manufacture. But we could not begin to prevent American television and radio transmissions from reaching the majority of the Canadian population. In other words while we had eliminated the product, we would still be exposed to the advertisement.

This is not a criticism of American culture which has made great contributions to the world. And I do not believe I am guilty of cultural chauvinism when I express these views. Our concern is not to insulate Canadian culture from contact with its neighbours. We would have no standards if our creativity were not tested internationally. No. My concern is that our sense of identity and separate traditions are not overwhelmed at the grassroots level by the ~~influence~~ of American culture.

Thus, if we attach value to distinctive Canadian qualities, we have to take steps to nourish and protect them. We have to ensure that where the standards of the product are equal the Canadian offering is not ruled out by terms of competition that are unequal.

This is the general philosophy which underlies the Canadian Government's approach to this question. Our purpose is not to block out American cultural influence, but to provide breathing space and encouragement for ~~independent Canadian~~ creativity. This policy has produced remarkable results. Reserving a ratio of television or radio time for Canadian content, providing more support for Canadian ballet, composers, orchestras and others, has stimulated a Canadian boom in the Arts. You can make your own evaluation of our standards. Canadian artists are beginning to appear regularly in this country. A concert was given recently in Chicago by our National Orchestra from Ottawa.

The third option addresses itself to the cultural question as much as to the economic one. It is not that we value distinctness over quality. It is because in the process of nation building, distinctness can be a substantial factor for cohesion.

Perhaps the following quotation has some relevance to my theme:

"The true sovereigns of a country are those who determine its mind, its mode of thinking, its tastes, its principles; and we cannot consent to lodge this sovereignty in the hands of strangers".

Was this a Canadian nationalist speaking in 1973? No, ladies and gentlemen, this is an excerpt from an address delivered at the University of Philadelphia in 1823. It was good advice for Americans 150 years ago. I suggest it is equally good advice for Canadians today.

APRIL 9, 1973

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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY
OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
APRIL 9, 1973

Mr. Speaker, it is my very sad duty officially to inform the House that Captain Charles Eugene Laviolette of the Canadian Armed Forces, on assignment to the Canadian Delegation to the International Commission of Control and Supervision, was killed in the line of duty on Saturday April 7 when the International Commission helicopter in which he was a passenger crashed near Lao Bao in Viet-Nam with the loss of all 9 persons on board. I know that all Members of the House, and all Canadians, join with the Government in extending sincere condolences to the wife and family of Captain Laviolette and share their deep sense of grief at this tragic event which has befallen them.

The sadness and grief caused by this incident does not affect Canadians only. One Indonesian officer and two Hungarian officers were also killed, as were two Americans and one Filipino, crew members on the helicopter, and two Viet-Cong or PRG Liaison officials accompanying the party. We are relieved, however, that the other two Canadians, Captain R.L. Parsons and Master Corporal J.M.R. Laplante, who were passengers in another helicopter on the same mission which went to the aid of the stricken aircraft, are now safe and in good health.

The Canadian Government deplores this tragic and unnecessary incident which, according to preliminary investigation and reports, was the result of a hostile act directed, either deliberately or by mistake, against helicopters which were clearly marked with ICCS insignia. One helicopter was struck by a missile fired from the ground, presumably by the party in whose area of occupation the incident occurred, while it was approaching Lao Bao on an ICCS mission. This happened despite the fact that all the safety procedures and precautions designed specifically to prevent such incidents had been carefully followed. The team had secured the Viet Cong's assurances of safe passage, as witnessed by the presence of two of their representatives on the stricken helicopter, and according to our information, the helicopters did not stray from the designated flight corridor to which these assurances of safety specifically applied. I wish to state as clearly and as forcefully as I am able, Mr. Speaker, the conviction of the Canadian Government that absolutely no circumstances should ever justify the firing upon personnel of the International Control Commission by any of the belligerents. Even if these helicopters had strayed off course, which all the evidence available to us denies, the penalty for losing one's way in the cause of peace should not be death at the hands of one of the signatories to the Paris Peace Agreement.

While we were under no illusions at the start of our participation in the ICCS concerning the dangers that existed for Canadian personnel in Viet-Nam, we have advocated and, we believed, had secured adequate safety and security measures in the field, based largely on trust in the assurances the ICCS is given by the parties involved in each particular case. However, the circumstances of this incident and the events which followed, particularly the hindrances encountered by the Commission in its efforts to locate and bring aid to ICCS personnel on the missing aircraft, are such that they jeopardize this trust even to the point of questioning the ability of the PRG representative in Saigon to speak for all of the military formations occupying the area in question. It cannot but have an effect on the future operations of the ICCS

in the deployment of its teams and its investigatory capacities, and as a result, on the attitude of the Canadian Government toward continued participation on the Commission.

The International Commission is still attempting to carry out a detailed investigation of the incident, and until it is completed, not all details will be known. In the meantime, however, Mr. Speaker, I wish to provide the House with the following information, as we have it to date, on events leading up to Saturday's tragedy, what we know of the incident itself, and what has passed since.

Under Article 4(d) of the Protocol on international supervision, attached to the 1973 Paris Agreement, Lao Bao is a specifically designated team site of the ICCS. According to the Agreement, the Lao Bao team was to have been in place and operational within at least 30 days after the Agreement was signed. However, for a variety of reasons, it was not until March 17 that the first helicopter reconnaissance visit took place to Lao Bao, via Quang Tri and Gio Linh. For this visit the necessary assurances of safety were received from the Vietnamese Parties involved and the Viet Cong provided liaison officials to accompany the ICCS team. A second reconnaissance visit was planned for April 5, to see if the Lao Bao facilities were ready for ICCS occupation, but it was abandoned when the Viet Cong liaison personnel were prevented by officials of the Republic of Viet-Nam at Quang Tri from boarding the helicopter.

This reconnaissance flight was re-scheduled for April 7; on the morning of April 7, at Quang Tri, with clearances and safety guarantees for the flight received from both the South Vietnamese and Viet Cong authorities, the crew of ICCS helicopters numbers 006 and 115 were carefully briefed by Captain Parent on the exact routing designated by the Viet Cong as being safe for travel to Lao Bao. The two helicopters left Quang Tri at nine o'clock in the morning on April 7 for Gio Linh, where two Viet Cong liaison personnel boarded helicopter 006 and a third boarded helicopter 115. The helicopters departed at eleven-fifteen and proceeded along the route designated by the Viet Cong, from Gio Linh to Dong Ha, and from Dong Ha toward Lao Bao following Highway 9 at a pre-arranged altitude of one thousand meters within the corridor two kilometers either side of Highway 9. At ten minutes before noon, helicopter 115 reported that it was in its final approach to Lao Bao. Approximately three minutes later the ICCS team in Quang Tri received a transmission from the helicopters to the effect that one was receiving ground fire and that the other helicopter had been hit by a missile and was going down. Canadian personnel aboard the surviving helicopter confirm that their helicopter was fired upon at this time. They report that it took evasive action and landed in a hamlet on Highway 9, from where they walked to the crash site of the other helicopter, about two kilometers away. There is therefore no reason to believe that either helicopter was outside the flight corridor at the time of the incident, and the weather conditions were excellent. The helicopter which landed safely was fired upon with small-arms after it was on the ground, where its ICCS markings could not have been mistaken.

The PRG authorities in Quang Tri have issued their own account of what they call "the accident". They claim that the two helicopters were at least 25 kilometers, that is about 15 miles, away from the approved flight corridor when helicopter number 006 was shot down. The statement maintains that they had been this far off-course for 40 minutes.

Within minutes the Commission's regional headquarters at Hue were informed of the radio distress report and were told that there had been subsequent loss of contact. Immediately, Canadian and other ICCS personnel began common efforts in Quang Tri and in Saigon to get information on what had happened, and most important, to launch a search and rescue mission.

All efforts were to no avail. At Quang Tri, about forty miles away, Colonel McLeod, commander of Canadian forces in ICCS region one, contacted representatives of the Viet Cong, which claims to be the party in control of the area of the incident, who were across the river from Quang Tri. During the course of the afternoon of April 7, he was three times refused permission to proceed by either land or air to Lao Bao. He was eventually informed early in the evening of April 7 that necessary arrangements for safe passage to Lao Bao could not be made. Later he was told that one helicopter had landed safely, but that the other had, and I quote, met with an accident, unquote. The PRG or Viet Cong representative would give no information on casualties or on the condition of the personnel involved. In Saigon, while General McAlpine and his three colleagues on the Military Committee of the ICCS left for Hue to conduct the inquiry personally, similar attempts were being made to secure information from the PRG or Viet Cong Delegation to the Two-Party Joint Military Commission. These efforts, which involved a three-hour meeting between the PRG representatives and the Indonesian Chairman acting on behalf of the Commission, also failed. The Viet Cong would not permit a proffered American search-and-rescue operation to proceed from Thailand as the Commission had requested, and they refused to provide liaison officers for any search organized by the ICCS, although helicopters were standing by. Nor would they give any information on the personnel involved. Almost twenty-four hours after the incident, the best that could be obtained from the Viet Cong was a letter to the Commission confirming that one helicopter had quote met with an accident unquote, and that the PRG was organizing its own search and rescue operation.

By this time General McAlpine had proceeded from Hue to Quang Tri with other members of the ICCS Military Committee where, on the morning of April 8, he met with the same PRG representative who had refused Colonel McLeod permission the day before to go to Lao Bao. The Viet Cong representative reported, at last, that all those aboard one helicopter had been killed in the quote accident unquote, but he still either could not or would not say which helicopter was involved. General McAlpine was also told that the Viet Cong were bringing out the dead and survivors to Gio Linh that evening, and that he and his colleagues should proceed there to receive them. Early in the morning of April 9, which was yesterday afternoon by our time, General McAlpine received the Canadian survivors and we were able to positively identify, for the first time, which helicopter had been shot down. As I mentioned above, the survivors were examined medically and found to be in good condition.

We have been informed by the Canadian representative on the Military Committee of the ICCS, Major General McAlpine, that when the so-called PRG officially landed over the bodies and survivors on the morning of April 9 at Gio Linh, it made an attempt to have the ICCS Military Committee sign a

prepared statement claiming that the helicopters were off course and that the incident was an accident. The ICCS Military Committee quite rightly refused to meet such an outrageous demand.

From the reports which we have received, however, it is understood that before they were released, the surviving passengers and crew of the helicopter had been required to sign statements prepared by the PRG that they were off course, and that it was implied that if they refused they might not be returned to ICCS authorities. I understand that the survivors did sign the statements; I am sure that Honourable Members will make no mistake about the value of such statements signed under these circumstances.

In the meantime, the Commission is proceeding on an investigation of this tragic incident. The PRG have agreed that the Military Committee will be escorted to the crash area where they will be permitted to conduct their own on-site enquiry.

Mr. Speaker, that is the extent of the information which is available to us now. I am bound to say that this incident is only the most tragic of a number of cases in which ICCS aircraft, all of which are clearly and prominently marked, have been fired upon. As Honourable Members will recall, the first such incidents occurred in late February. Since the incident of which I have just given an account, I have received a report that another ICCS helicopter has been fired upon within the past 24 hours. Two Canadians were among its passengers. On April 9, in the southernmost of the ICC's seven regions, the ICCS helicopter was accompanying a helicopter of the Joint Military Commission near a team-site called Vi Thanh. The JMC helicopter was flying at an altitude of 500 feet, and the ICCS helicopter was following it at an altitude of 3500 feet. Both were fired upon from the ground, and the JMC helicopter is reported to have been hit by a number of rounds. As a result, all ICCS helicopters in the region have been grounded pending consideration of the matter by the ICCS at its headquarters in Saigon.

I wish to assure all Canadians, and especially the families and friends of Canadians serving in Viet-Nam, that the Government is taking these incidents very seriously indeed. It is doing everything within its power to ensure that they do not recur. We are in touch with our representatives in Saigon to ensure that all possible measures are taken to that end. When we are satisfied that we have obtained all the relevant information, and after consultation with our partners in the ICCS, particularly those whose nationals have lost their lives, we will take appropriate action to hold accountable those responsible.

Such serious incidents will of course have a bearing upon the Government's decision concerning Canada's continued participation in the ICCS. Honourable Members will recall that in my statement to the House late last month, I said that the general situation in Viet-Nam was highly unsatisfactory, and that Canada would terminate its participation at the end of June if the situation did not improve substantially. Since then, the general situation has not improved; in fact it has deteriorated. If it does not improve very substantially, it will be clear that by continuing to serve in the ICCS we would be staying on to observe, not a peace, not a cease-fire but a continuing war. We would be doing so, as this recent deplorable incident makes clear, at totally unjustified human risk. This we will not do. This House may be sure, and all Canadians may be sure, that we will not continue to risk Canadian lives in fulfilment of a task which is not worth doing. The Parties are responsible for making the task worthwhile, by making it a task in support of peace in Viet-Nam. We will expect them to fulfil that responsibility.

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STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY
OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS.

SECRÉTAIRE
D'ÉTAT AUX
AFFAIRES
EXTÉRIEURES.



NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS
BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
TO THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE CANADIAN PRESS
MAY 2, 1973, IN TORONTO

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

For some reason that you will no doubt find as baffling as I do, the newspapers you represent, and particularly the cartoonists that you employ, have no difficulty in identifying me with what has come to be known as our "open-mouth policy" in Viet-Nam.

Perhaps it has something to do with my physical characteristics. As Doug Fisher once remarked, I have a face that reminds him of oatmeal porridge.

Perhaps also the press is finally beginning to notice that during the period it has been my privilege to be Secretary of State for External Affairs there has been a new openness in the Government's conduct of foreign policy. We have been making an effort to encourage public awareness and public debate.

This is a relatively new development. Yet I would be less than objective if I did not admit that it has been part of an evolutionary process that began some time ago and that I have been pushed in this direction by the logic of events.

One of my very distinguished predecessors as Foreign Minister, the late Mike Pearson, acquired an enviable reputation for working with the media. He was well known for the candour with which he spoke to the press, particularly in background briefings, but also in his more formal encounters with your representatives. But the world in which he operated was a much different one from that in which we are working today. Our relationships with other countries, and particularly with the United States, were, if I may say so, a good deal simpler than those with which we are concerned now. It was, of course, Mr. Pearson himself who, in the 1950 s, noted and commented upon the ending of the days of what he described as our easy and automatic relationship with the U.S.A. Nevertheless even ten years ago Canada's foreign policy might still have been roughly described, as it was somewhat earlier by a cynical young member of my Department, as U.K. plus U.S. over 2 (U.K. + U.S.).

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Moreover, international affairs was not a subject which appeared to touch directly upon the lives of very many Canadians except when global war involved us if the prospect of such a war threatened to involve us. Consequently, until relatively recently, the great majority of the Canadian people were prepared to leave the determination of these issues in the hands of a few foreign affairs buffs like you and me. In short, foreign affairs were things that concerned other people. Canada's own relationships seemed to be secure and tidy. We supported virtue in the United Nations and performed many useful functions throughout the world as a matter of duty, not of national necessity. This very satisfying role was largely made possible by the virtual absence of any serious problems in the international arena that directly affected the lives of Canadians simply because they were Canadians.

...

I would not like to suggest that at a certain hour on a certain day all this stopped and we suddenly realized that Canada's foreign interests could no longer be adequately protected through multilateral activity and by relying on our special relationship with our great southern neighbour. Mike Pearson foresaw it and we began to see in practice that even Canada was not immune from having its own vital national interests in the external area, and that these could at times be quite different from those of the United States, or our NATO partners, or even from any grouping within the United Nations. As Canadians came to realize that they had a direct individual interest in what was done on their behalf outside the territorial limits of Canada, I discovered when I took over this portfolio some five years ago, that not only the Canadian public, but even some of my colleagues, were taking an unaccustomed interest in activities that had traditionally been very largely the concern of my predecessors alone.

For example, the only promise made by the Trudeau administration in the election campaign of 1968 was to review our foreign policy and in particular our position in NATO and to negotiate for recognition of the People's Republic of China. After the election we set about to fulfil that promise.

Looking back five years I am free to admit that we in the Government were a bit ham-handed in the way we handled the NATO issue but it was fortunate that we made our mistakes early and had time to profit from them. The intention was clear: we wanted to involve the public in the decision-making process. We actively sought the views of the academic community, of Members of Parliament, of groups like the CIIA. We invited the House of Commons Committee on External Affairs and Defence to make a report. I personally spoke throughout the country explaining NATO and the terms for Canadian membership.

It all sounds reasonable enough except that there was very little leadership from the Government. In fact the trumpet spoke with a most uncertain sound; publicly I advocated continued membership in NATO; publicly my then colleague, Mr. Kierans, advocated withdrawal. The result was that our consultations with the public lacked focus. This was particularly true of our consultations with the academic community who wanted some Government position to criticize; they were not accustomed to being asked to formulate policy.

In the end we reached a reasonable and acceptable decision to continue in NATO but to reduce the numbers of our troops in Europe.

In retrospect it would have been preferable to have given an early indication of the government's thinking - a sense of direction - and to have avoided the impression of division and inactivity. To put the matter bluntly, we should have reached agreement in Cabinet, at least in principle, before seeking the reaction of the public. This, I suggest, is basic to our form of responsible government in a parliamentary democracy.

After that experience with handling the NATO question, we followed a different procedure. Recognition of the People's Republic of China was a case in point. From the outset we declared our intention to negotiate to

establish diplomatic relations with Peking and invited the reaction of the public. The negotiations with the Chinese were, of course, carried on in secret and the resulting agreement took a form that could not have been exactly foreseen. But there was never any doubt about our intentions, either at home or abroad.

These early experiences and the increased public interest in foreign affairs led the government to attempt something unique - the formulation of a set of basic principles underlying Canadian foreign policy. This finally emerged after months of preparation and debate within Cabinet in a series of brochures entitled "Foreign Policy for Canadians". You will recall that a number of newspapers criticized the cover - I am told that the female sex is inadequately represented, and there is not a smile on the face of any of the Canadians that appear there. I am not sure under what government the picture was taken. Other commentators, it is true, went beyond the cover, and although there was no lack of criticism of the content I think it was generally agreed that the effort to produce an outline of Canada's foreign policy within a conceptual framework was timely and justified. It was, I think, the first time that any Canadian Government, at least, had attempted to lay before the people of the country an outline of the considerations that were involved in the establishment of their international priorities. It was the first time that any Canadian Government said clearly and methodically how Canadian foreign policy was intended to promote Canadian objectives. May I add, parenthetically, that it was the first time in my ten years as a member of the Government that the Cabinet as a whole deliberately considered the basic lines of our overall foreign policy.

"Foreign Policy for Canadians" attracted a good deal of useful discussion but, more important, it helped to set this country on a course from which I doubt any government will depart for a long time to come. As long as foreign affairs were something that could be taken for granted, and as long as the man in the street did not feel directly involved in these decisions, it was safe to leave discussions for editorial writers and public servants and, possibly, the occasional Cabinet Minister. The publication of "Foreign Policy for Canadians", if it did nothing else, brought the genie out of the bottle and placed the arcane mysteries of foreign policy formulation under public scrutiny, for any who might wish to scrutinize. There could be no going back. Indeed, it became very clear, very soon, that we had to go forward.

The most common criticism of "Foreign Policy for Canadians" was that, lacking a separate booklet on Canadian-U.S. relations, it was like producing Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Without exception the press from Coast to Coast jumped on us. The erudite and not so erudite columnists had a field day. Where, we were asked, was the "missing" book? It had, I must confess, occurred to me and my colleagues that the absence of the book bearing this title would be noted. As I said at the time, the U.S. relationship permeated all other aspects of our foreign policy and the Government's view's on the relationship were to be found under appropriate headlines within the individual books that had been published. While this was (and is) undoubtedly true, it became clear that it was not considered enough and, partly in response to these public attitudes, and partly because our relations with the United

States had reached another juncture (I refer to the events of August, 1971), it was decided to attempt to bring together a single statement of the general principles we think should apply to what must surely be the most complex - and productive - bilateral relationship existing in the world.

My Department had, in the meanwhile, gone into the publishing business itself in a modest way. The old "External Affairs Bulletin," which was intended purely as a source of reference material, was superseded just over a year ago by a new publication called "International Perspectives". This venture was something of a calculated risk. I gave instructions that it was not to shy away from controversial material merely because it was controversial; that it was to be stimulating, to encourage debate, and to allow free expression of representative points of view, without regard to what the government policy on the issue might be. We hired an experienced newspaper man on a part-time basis as editor to ensure that these instructions would be carried out.

I doubt if any other Foreign Ministries in the world have publications comparable to it. In any event, we used a special edition of "International Perspectives" to present our three options for the future of Canada-U.S. relations and, in subsequent editions, we have published reactions.

I cannot say that the appearance of that long-awaited, loudly demanded and - if you will permit me - lucid study of Canada-U.S. relations produced a sensation compared to the publication of Xaviera Hollander's memoirs. In fact the study was barely noticed when it appeared in October of last year. Of course, there were minor competing events such as the general election campaign which revolved around more easily understood issues than Canada-U.S. relations, such as the length of the Prime Minister's hair and the variety of his vocabulary.

But it has by no means been ignored and I venture to predict that to an increasing extent the debate about Canada-U.S. relations will revolve around the three options discussed in that paper. It is even beginning to have some effect upon the direction of Canadian Government policy! Just the other day for the first time a report to Cabinet passed under my eye which referred to the Third Option in support of its recommendations.

At any rate I make this submission to you: far from reluctantly meeting the demands of public opinion in the area of foreign relations, the Government has actually stimulated demand, invited criticism, acknowledged it when it came, and even, if you can believe it, applied these public expressions of view to the conduct of our foreign operations.

I do not suggest that foreign policy can be conducted in the full glare of television klieglights. The process of negotiation depends to an enormous extent on confidentiality. Premature public exposure of a negotiating position can only serve to harden attitudes and a completely open negotiation would very quickly resolve itself into repetitious declarations of rigid positions until some way could be found of getting out of the glare and back to closed and confidential discussions. On the other hand, once

decisions have been reached, and sometimes while various options are still open, it is important to submit them to public examination to see if they command the public support because, in the long run, public support is the only guarantee that an international commitment will be honoured. To submit a tentative proposal or options being examined helps the Government make up its own mind and enables the public to take part in the decision-making process.

In the paper on Canada-U.S. Relations published last October in *International Perspectives*, for example, the Government came out in favour of what has been termed the Third Option. I confess that there were some misgivings in government circles about opting for any particular direction in our relations with the United States. Why take a public position? Why not play it by ear? Why not leave all options open? Why give the Opposition something else to criticize? After all, it was argued, we have got along for years without any such statement of policy. Remember what that durable practitioner of the political art, Mackenzie King once said: "I made only one memorable speech in my career and I always regretted it."

It was tempting politically to follow this cautious advice but we finally came to the conclusion that a sense of direction had to be given to our relations with the United States. Economic integration with the United States as a direction of policy we ruled out as unacceptable to the Canadian people. The choice was then between continuing on a more or less ad hoc course, reacting to events in our great neighbour to the south, as we have been doing - with some success - or - and this is the third option - pursuing a comprehensive long term strategy to develop and strengthen the Canadian economy and other aspects of our national life and in the process to reduce the present Canadian vulnerability.

Is this the right direction for Canada? This Government thinks so. But do the Canadian people? That question can only be answered if it is put before the people. That is what we have done, just as Prime Minister Trudeau opted for federalism and invited the people of Canada in Quebec and elsewhere to follow him. Would it have been better for Trudeau and the Government to have blurred the issue as some of his critics did in order to leave all options open, such as special status for Quebec, the concept of two nations?

Surely there is fundamentally the same rationale for giving a sense of direction to foreign policy, particularly in relation to a great friendly giant like the United States beside whom we want to live distinct but in harmony.

In the address to the Associated Press last week Dr. Kissinger - inadvertently - underlined the very real significance of this third policy option to Canadians. First let me say that because of our close ties with the United States and the members of the European Economic Community, Canada welcomes wholeheartedly what appears to be a serious and constructive effort by the United States Government to open consultations designed to redefine and revitalize the Atlantic relationship. There are inevitably questions about

interpretation and implementation which remain to be answered - but the approach recalls responses to earlier international crossroads: the Atlantic Charter, the Marshall Plan and the Canadian efforts when NATO was born to give the Alliance political and economic as well as military significance. The Canadian Government has underlined on several occasions the inevitable interaction between developments on the economic and political fronts. While we continue to believe that consultations and negotiations on economic issues should take place in the appropriate multilateral bodies, we would agree with Dr. Kissinger that the broader association we have as members of the NATO Alliance provides a convenient forum for developing a measure of political understanding on the broader perspectives of our individual national policies. I have myself used the NATO forum on several occasions to make this point. The importance of the trading relationships between Europe, Japan, Canada and the USA as well as the needs of the developing countries will all be prime issues at the negotiations in the new GATT round starting this year. They will also receive attention in the continuing discussions in the OECD in Paris where the countries mentioned by Dr. Kissinger are well represented. Canada's participation in and support for these efforts to liberalize trade has been steadfast and unreserved. We agree that NATO should continue to function as an instrument of collective defence. Like the United States we see NATO's collective strength and the present situation of strategic parity as opportunities for developing a basis for political détente with Eastern Europe.

Thus I can assure our friends to the South that the Canadian Government views Dr. Kissinger's speech in its broad outline as a welcome reaffirmation and redefinition of an outward looking and responsible American foreign policy.

But looking at it from a Canadian perspective, as I must do, there is a potentially disturbing feature, and this may be as much a feature of our polarizing world as of Dr. Kissinger's address. And that is: where do Canadians fit into the developing pattern? Dr. Kissinger has identified three main power centres in the non-Communist world - the United States, Europe and Japan. While we have no illusions about being declared a fourth power centre we think we have a distinctive contribution to make and we don't want to be polarized around any of the main power centres.

We can take some comfort from the fact that in his speech, Dr. Kissinger called on Canada along with Europe and, ultimately, Japan to join the United States in working out a new Atlantic Charter. To that call I have no hesitation in saying we will respond most willingly, the more so because it is within such a framework that Canada will have the best chance of avoiding polarization and of achieving the diversity in our economic, cultural and political relations that is fundamental to the strengthening of the Canadian identity.

This is exactly the sort of issue which I would like to see fully and vigorously debated by the press. We will need clear heads and wise judgements as this debate proceeds - and the press has an important contribution to make.

Even with these issues properly identified and policy direction given, decisions have still to be made on the individual questions that present themselves almost daily in relations between Canada and the United States, questions about trade, about exchanges of energy, about cross-border investment, about industrial policy, about broadcasting policy. And as our study of Canada-United States relations points out, that pursuit of the Third Option "does not seek to distort the realities of the Canada-United States relationship of the fundamental community of interest that lies at the root of it."

When the question of Canadian participation in the International Commission of Control and Supervision in Viet-Nam was first broached, it seemed to me that here was a question on which large sections of the Canadian public were passionately concerned. Many of us had our own points of view, but there were also a large number of peripheral considerations to be taken into account. However, Canada was not itself directly involved in the negotiation and the need for confidentiality was secondary, in my opinion, to the need of keeping the public informed. If people tell you things in confidence, you cannot make them public the next day. But, to the extent that we were dealing with Canadian responses, I decided that at every new turn of events the Canadian public would be kept informed of what had happened and what the Government proposed to do next. I even tried with only partial success I regret to say, to enlighten the Opposition parties by offering them a chance to see for themselves what was going on in Indo-China. Naturally, I was very pleased to see that the general lines we were following commanded a wide measure of approval and this became a source of great comfort to me in making the decisions as they became necessary. Unless we had taken the public into our confidence we should never have known its response.

Among the details of the proposed arrangement, we learned that the anticipated Commission would operate on a rule of unanimity. As the Prime Minister had said on this subject, Canada did not intend to be frustrated by such a rule. It became clear that we would have to find a way of applying our policy of keeping the public informed of the operations of the new Commission when it came into existence. Thus, to try to offset the worst features of the rule of unanimity, we first tried to have the International Commission of Control and Supervision in Viet-Nam act, not as a negotiating body where the rule of confidentiality would be essential, but as an international forum where all the facts and all the points of view of the parties concerned would be placed publicly on the record for all to see. We were not able to persuade our colleagues in the ICCS to go along with this, so we determined that at least Canada's position would be a matter of public record. Accordingly, I instructed the Head of our Delegation that he should, to the best of his ability, see that Canadian positions taken in the Commission were publicly available. This has become known as the "open-mouth policy", to which I have already referred.

It is, I think, a somewhat new departure. It is, of course, subject to the law of diminishing returns and can be a strain on our bilateral relations with other countries involved who may not share our own view of what can legitimately be put in the public domain. Nevertheless, it has served a useful purpose during the formative period of the Commission's life and will no doubt continue to be of use for the immediate future. But it will not transform the sow's ear into an elegant silk purse.

There have been times, I confess, when I have been slightly tempted to envy my colleagues in other countries who can control the press and ensure that only the news they think fit to print is, in fact, printed. I also have occasionally felt a twinge of admiration for those foreign ministers who seem to be able to manage the news by calculated leaks or by favouring those newsmen who can be counted on to publish sympathetic stories about the activities of their respective foreign offices.

But, I hasten to add, I am not complaining nor do I intend to try to emulate the.

In pursuing an open-mouth policy on foreign policy, I have come to realize more than ever before, however, that my voice carries only as far as the media decides to carry it. I may not be willing or even if I choose might not be able to manage the news; the media does in the very nature of things manage the news. That is your job. "All the news that's fit to print" as a rule of press conduct speaks for itself.

Anyone who reads Canadian newspapers and watches or listens to Canadian television and radio will agree with me that the media has given widespread coverage to recent developments in Canadian foreign policy. My friend and yours, Gratton O'Leary, complained recently in the Senate which he adorns (even if he is a Tory) that every time he turned on the TV there was Mitchell Sharp.

So I have no complaint on that score. Indeed, I have reason to be grateful to the media generally. Nevertheless, in concluding these remarks I have a suggestion to make relating to the foreign news carried by the Canadian Press.

It is the Canadian Press that brings to its subscribers the only distinctive Canadian viewpoint that is broadly available to Canadians on what is going on in the outside world. A few of our larger dailies can afford to maintain a few correspondents outside of Canada, but the vast majority of Canadians depend upon the Canadian Press. There are other newsgathering agencies, and indeed the Canadian Press cooperates with some of them, and in terms of factual information their product is first rate and they provide us with a large variety of sources of information. Besides, the fact that they are not Canadian may not matter too much. It is part of being Canadian to be equipped with a built-in filter that enables us to detect and identify news reports that are clearly not aimed at a Canadian audience.

No Canadian over the age of 10, on reading, say, that the fleet has moved into the Gulf of Tonkin, is under even a momentary illusion that the Canadian Armed Forces are up to something.' Nevertheless, it would be a great contribution to the intelligent discussion of our international affairs and an appropriate recognition that international affairs are becoming increasingly a matter of concern to all Canadians if we were to have a greater proportion of our international news reports written with a Canadian readership in mind. According to my information, there are Canadian Press bureaux in London, Paris, Brussels, Washington and New York. In addition, reporters are of course sent abroad to cover specific stories. The Government considers it necessary to have some 100 diplomatic and consular missions abroad. Obviously, while the Government has reasons for having representation in Lusaka, for example, you may not have, but it seems to me that there is too great a disparity in the 100 to 5 ratio. I realize how expensive foreign operations can be. After all, I have to battle for the money to keep ours going. I also know how excellent is the coverage that is obtainable from other agencies at much less cost. But it seems to me that it is very important, particularly in those areas where Canadian interests are clearly identifiable and distinct from those of any other country, that our reading public, and indeed the radio listener and television viewer, have the issues presented to him from a point of view with which he can relate without having to switch on his congenital filter.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION BEFORE
18:00 HOURS, E.D.T., MAY 11, 1973

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SECRETARY
OF STATE
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AFFAIRS.

SECRÉTAIRE
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NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP.
TO THE Y.M.C.A., MONCTON, N.B.,
ON MAY 11, 1973

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In Ottawa, not just in External Affairs or the Canadian International Development Agency, there is constant exposure to the world beyond our borders and beyond our continent. There are in Ottawa 73 Embassies and High Commissions and a steady traffic in and out of foreign visitors and of Canadians returning from abroad. For these reasons, and for no special Ottawa virtue, there is, in the capital, a fairly high level of interest in the world around us.

You do not have this same built-in exposure and it is that much more to your credit that you have shown initiative and a lively interest in the developing world.

For this reason I can tell you that my motive in accepting your invitation is not just a taste for New Brunswick lobster. You have demonstrated energy and enterprise in organizing with the Ys of Halifax and Saint John to set up a Maritime Partnership Project. As I understand it, this began with a programme of cooperation with the Dominican Republic to help in the development of a YMCA in Santo Domingo. From this beginning you gave your support to the establishment of a sandal factory and shoe shop in Santo Domingo.

You will be pleased to learn that the CIDA grant of \$25,000 which you had requested for this project has been approved.

As a young man I was proud of the very rewarding association which I had with the Y in Winnipeg. As a Y enthusiast still, I am very proud to have this opportunity tonight to commend most warmly the members of the Moncton Y.

The problem of wide-spread and crushing poverty in large parts of the world remains not only a challenge to our sense of values but to the prospects of future stability in the world. Although I understand that the YMCA initiated its first overseas programme in 1889, most of us in the developed world, including governments, were far behind in our perceptions of this challenge. It was not really until the post-war years that there was an assumption by society of responsibility for the elimination of conditions of poverty in the world at large. This sense of responsibility was stimulated at that time by a number of converging factors: increasing awareness of widening disparities between rich and poor nations and a realization that the development of technology and the accumulation of wealth have made the eradication of poverty an attainable goal. This outlook stemmed from the same post-war philosophy which have us the framework for our present social welfare structure at home - and a commitment on the part of the Federal and Provincial Governments to reduce regional disparities.

We set out toward this goal with zeal and optimism - but in the beginning with only rudimentary appreciation of the complexities of the task. In time we came to acknowledge the limitations of development assistance. Aid can only provide a relatively small proportion of the total resources required by developing countries. Societies and governments in these countries must assume

primary responsibility for their own development and provide most of their own resources. They must set their own economic and social objectives. They must determine how much self-sacrifice is required and in what areas.

However, development assistance can provide the extra margin of support that can bring a developing country to the take-off point - enough support to make the heavy demands in themselves worthwhile. This can be done by supplementing the resources of the developing countries with skills, equipment, experience and resources which are limited in their own economies but essential to the development process.

The point I am making here is that external assistance can have an important and even decisive impact on the development process in each country.

From your own experience I think you will have recognized a basic truth about any help which is provided to the developing world. To be effective - which is to say to be enduring - aid must be more than the provision of funds, goods or technical expertise. For example, while there is a role for teachers, especially in the initial stages of a programme teacher training is more important. To be successful we must be helping a country or a community to help itself. In whatever project we are engaged in - either government or non-governmental programmes - we must always keep clearly in mind that we will have failed if the project cannot stand on its own feet when our skills and experience are withdrawn.

Nor should we look at the provision of aid strictly in terms of a charitable obligation of the haves to the have nots, or in terms of the Western world's debt to former colonial territories. Aid which is openly characterized as charity or as reparations is almost bound to set off on the wrong foot.

I have said the role of external assistance in relation to the task of eliminating world poverty is a limited one, but it still requires from Canada the intelligent application of a very wide range of our own resources and skills. You and other non-profit, non-governmental organizations are very much an essential partner in this enterprise.

Non-governmental organizations tend to be well suited to helping others help themselves. In your case this is a role you have discharged with distinction for the community in Canada. Private sector assistance enables organizations in developing countries to establish direct working relations with their counterparts in Canada. This contact facilitates the flow of knowledge and expertise - and ensures that it is relevant to the project at hand. There are times and places where we cannot be confident that aid provided on a government to government basis will reach its intended destination. Aid provided through the non-governmental net can sometimes bypass government corruption in a recipient country.

Non-governmental organizations often have the capacity also of bringing to their activities an element of direct human concern that is at times too diffused and diluted in the context of government programmes.

The Government and particularly the Canadian International Development Agency have long recognized the importance of the non-governmental organizations in meeting our aid objectives. A non-governmental organization division was created within the Canadian International Development Agency in 1968, to provide additional support for the contributions of Canadian voluntary associations. Since that time funds allocated to private organizations have been increased by 300%, that is to say from 4.1 million dollars to 16.5 million dollars. Over the same period the CIDA budget increased by 70%.

Nevertheless, the total Canadian external budget has been growing at an annual rate of 15 to 16% and aid appropriations have reached a very significant figure. From a modest post-war beginning our total aid appropriations have reached more than half a billion dollars a year. This amount will grow as our Gross National Product increases.

This is a substantial sum for the Canadian tax payers to provide - and to sustain a programme of this magnitude the support of the Canadian public is essential. Non-governmental organizations play a very important role in the creation of a wider public awareness and sense of dedication to the objectives of development assistance.

I have said something about the funds allocated through CIDA for non-governmental organizations. How is the rest of the money used? About \$331 million - two-thirds of the total was allocated last year for country to country or bilateral assistance. \$90 million was used as grants, mainly for technical assistance such as the provision of Canadian teachers and advisers, or the training of overseas students in Canada. \$142 million was allocated for long-term development loans, usually on an interest-free basis to make goods and services available to developing countries.

\$90 million was spent for shipments of food. The emergency provision of food aid is often necessary to relieve famine and also to relieve recipient countries from the need to spend scarce foreign exchange on imports of food. Most recently \$2.5 million of Canadian food aid was allocated to countries bordering on the Sahara desert who are suffering a severe drought. Food aid is, however, a temporary expedient to help a community through a particularly difficult crisis. It is only provided with great discretion because when food aid is not directly required to meet shortages it can depress agricultural prices and discourage investment and expansion in the agricultural sectors of developing economies.

Another large portion - \$134 million was spent to provide multilateral assistance. Our contribution to multilateral organizations includes grants, loans or advances to the World Bank, several regional development banks and a variety of U.N. specialized agencies.

One of the more innovative efforts in which Canada has had a part in applying technology to the problems of the developing countries has been the establishment in Ottawa in 1970 of the International Development Research Centre, an avowedly international institution financed by the Canadian Government. The objective of the IDRC is to assist the developing regions to

define these problems in their own way and then to build up the research capabilities, the innovative skills and the institutions required to solve them. The approach of the IDRC is to help the developing countries select and adapt technology to their own ends, which are not necessarily those of Western countries.

Let me give you an example of what is meant by adapting technology to their own ends which are not necessarily Western ends. I refer to a grant given a few weeks ago by the IDRC to support a study into the role, not of supermarkets, but of hawkers and vendors in the marketing and distribution of agricultural products in six cities of Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. You may wonder: is this a worthwhile project? Look at it this way. Perhaps one-third of all goods and services in many Asian cities are handled through hawkers and vendors, yet their role in the pattern of food distribution from farms and cities is poorly understood, the implications of health, traffic and tax restrictions upon them hardly at all.

You can readily understand why it is important for development assistance to be carefully integrated into the development strategy of a country so that this assistance will complement the social and economic objectives of that country.

As I pointed out development assistance plays an important but still minor role in the struggle against world poverty. The function of trade and investment is more important. 80% of the foreign exchange earnings of developing countries come from international trade. Therefore, although development assistance will help on the road away from poverty, trade is the vital bridge.

The individual export receipts of most developing countries have been increasing. However, there is every reason for concern that the developing countries' proportional share of world trade has been declining in relative terms - 31% in 1948 - 22% in 1960 - down to 17.2% in 1971. To give you a dramatic example of the nature of this discrepancy in trade volumes, Canada's share in world trade in 1971 was over 5%. This was more than the share of all the Latin American countries together and substantially more than Africa's collective share.

Developed countries purchase more than 75% of the exports of the developing countries and roughly 8% of Canada's total imports come from the Third World. In our case we import more from developing countries than we export to them. However, this is not the general situation as is evident in the fact that the global trade account deficit of developing countries was 1.5 billion dollars in 1960 - rose to \$2.1 billion in 1969 and jumped to \$5.6. billion in 1971.

Given the crucial importance of international trade to development, these are disheartening figures. However, they are provoking international concern and international action. Some practical steps have been taken to assist developing countries overcome these trends.

At the Third United Nations Conference on Trade and Development last year, Canada and other industrial countries agreed that special techniques and ground rules should be established for the forthcoming international negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade to ensure that

special attention is genuinely given to the interests of the developing countries. It is our hope that the GATT negotiations will result in a significant reduction in trade barriers.

The International Cocoa Agreement, which Canada was the first country to ratify, includes countries representing most of the importing and exporting interests in that commodity. One of the purposes of this Agreement is to stabilize cocoa prices and provide some predictability about export earnings which developing countries can derive from cocoa.

Another step we have taken recently is the adoption of enabling legislation on the implementation of a Generalized System of Tariff Preferences for Developing Countries. Upon implementation, this will allow a wide range of goods from developing countries to enter Canada at British preference tariff rates or at one-third from the Most-favoured Nation tariff rate - whichever is the lower.

Of course, all is not smooth sailing. The provision of aid is a sensitive task. Misunderstandings arise from different outlooks as much as from different techniques. The motives of the donors are sometimes suspect - and this is very understandable.

There is one case I recall of a donor country which shall be nameless, which in its anxiety to demonstrate its goodwill and benevolence to a newly independent African country ordered the dispatch by the fastest means of a consignment of road and agricultural machinery. Imagine the perplexity of the African recipients when the crates were opened to reveal snow plows. I do not think our errors are of that magnitude.

One misunderstanding concerns the role of Canadian business and industry in relation to "tied aid". For many "tied aid" is a pejorative term. It suggests that the tying requirement, which applies to a portion of our aid, is inconsistent with our primary development assistance objectives. By the frequency with which developing countries draft resolutions on the adverse effects of tied aid, this is obviously a subject of great concern to them.

Undoubtedly there is a case against tied aid, but I believe that the Canadian practice is sensible. First, even the most ardent advocate of untied aid agrees that some tying may be justified when the donor has a persistent balance of payments deficit or underemployment of labour and productive capacity. Unfortunately, a number of donor countries are worried about these very problems and thus tie their aid. It is very difficult for Canada to be more generous than our competitors in the industrialized world and to open up our funds for fierce international competition when other countries are not prepared to give our suppliers the same opportunities. Indeed, public support for the current high level of Canadian aid could easily be jeopardized if we were to risk letting American, European, and Japanese firms win our aid contracts at a time when we have not yet solved all our own employment problems.

We are constantly urging recipient countries to use Canadian funds selectively, in order to finance those goods and services where we are internationally competitive. A recipient country, after all, has a variety of bilateral and multilateral funds to draw on, and we urge them to shop discriminately in order to get the best value for their aid dollar. One has only to glance at the list of items provided under our Aid Programme to see that our funds are being used to supply those items for which we are pre-eminent in the world - grains, fish, minerals, newsprint, asbestos, synthetic rubber, diesel locomotives, STOL Aircraft, hydro-electric machinery, telecommunications equipment, aerial surveys and skilled technical assistance. It is hard to believe that anyone could be more competitive than Canada in these fields.

In short, the whole debate over tied aid has been painted in colours far too bright to apply to the Canadian Aid Programme. Our role is not to impose our goods on other countries, but to assist them where our capabilities and their needs coincide, and to encourage the maximum participation of all sectors of the Canadian economy in that process.

Canadian business and industry do have a growing and important role in the field. Canadian experience with small and medium-scale industries and in such sectors as food processing, wood products and raw material processing is often relevant to the requirements of many developing countries. Direct investment by Canadian business in developing countries is beginning to expand. I hope success in the ventures now under way is contagious. By this means there is a natural transfer of managerial talent, technology and a generation of employment - and the advantages are conferred in a manner which complements the dignity and helps to build the confidence of the developing country.

It is also a process which is paving the way to new trading links with the Third World, which could become a very fast-growing market - if development efforts are successful.

Canada's Export Development Corporation facilitates this process by making direct long-term loans to foreign buyers of Canadian capital goods, thus enabling developing countries to acquire capital goods on accessible terms.

Some authorities have suggested that aid programmes should have a political rationale. This is the view that successful development assistance, by reducing hunger and misery, has a tranquilizing effect on the poorer countries. It rests on the assumption that the interests of the donor nations are best served by maintaining the status quo. This is a pernicious view and one that I reject.

There are cases where one can only hope that in the course of time the aid which is received from us and from others will give to the people the strength they need to displace unrest and unprincipled governments. We can, if we look far enough ahead, see the inevitable unrest, which is born of rising expectations, as a transitional period leading to a more stable and prosperous world.

This subject of development assistance is one which deserves more attention in Canada than it receives. In all of our relations with the Third World, development assistance constitutes one of the most important elements. This is because relief from poverty is as much a priority in our relations with the Third World as it is in Canada. Aid is given to developing countries for essentially the same reasons that we assist less privileged people in Canada.

In the Government's White Paper on Foreign policy, the issue was put in this way - "A society able to ignore poverty abroad will find it much easier to ignore it at home; a society concerned about poverty and development abroad will be concerned about poverty and development at home. We could not create a truly just society within Canada if we were not prepared to play our part in the creation of a more just world society. Thus our foreign policy in this field becomes a continuation of our domestic policy."

STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY
OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS.

SECRÉTAIRE
D'ÉTAT AUX
AFFAIRES
EXTÉRIEURES.



STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE
MITCHELL SHARP, TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
STANDING COMMITTEE ON EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
AND NATIONAL DEFENCE, TUESDAY,
MAY 15, 1973.



The purpose of this statement is to provide a short background account of some of the major preoccupations and activities of the Department of External Affairs and of CIDA by way of a prologue to the discussions on estimates.

It has become fashionable recently for foreign policy analysts and foreign ministers, including myself, to report the end of the post war era of international relations, the emergence of new power centres, and a new pattern of relationships contending with a new and increasingly complex range of problems. However, the nature of these changes is of a magnitude and relevance to the tasks of External Affairs and CIDA, that they bear highlighting to this Committee.

A new constellation of international relationships has emerged in which power is likely to be more widely diffused. The new centres of gravity are, of course, the EEC, Japan and China. Almost every major area of the globe is profoundly affected by the changes.

In Europe the enlargement of the EEC has underscored the economic and political cohesion of that region. Détente is very much on the move. Chancellor Willy Brandt's Ost Politik, the opening of substantive discussions on European security and MBFR, The Agreement on Berlin and the initial SALT understanding are contributing to a less abrasive and potentially more productive political climate.

In Asia the changes are no less significant - determined negotiations have brought increased but by no means certain, prospect that a generation of tragic conflict in Viet-Nam may come to an end. The continuing emergence of China into the world, the consolidation of Japanese influence, and the radically altered relationships between the United States and China on the one hand and between China and Japan on the other, have fundamentally altered the complexion of that area. These developments, in turn, are changing and expanding the importance of the Pacific rim to Canada.

Apart from the renewed and regrettable escalation of violence, the most striking development in the Middle East is the growing importance of that region's oil reserves to a world increasingly preoccupied by the prospect of energy shortage and associated balance of payments questions.

All of these changes have significant implications for Canada, providing both challenges and opportunities which must be met with skill and imagination.

The most rewarding and, at the same time, the most exacting of our relations are, of course, those with the United States. In response to growing Canadian concern that vital decisions affecting the evolution of our relations with the United States must be examined, not simply in terms of their short-term economic implications but of their long-term meaning for Canada's political, cultural and economic destiny, my Departmental officials and I embarked upon a comprehensive assessment of our relationship with our neighbour. Our central task was to determine

whether "it is possible to devise a means of living distinct from but in harmony with the United States". This study, published last October in *International Perspectives*, revealed three broad paths or options open to us:

- (1) we could seek to maintain more or less our present relationship with the United States with a minimum of policy adjustments;
- (2) we could move deliberately toward closer integration with the United States; and
- (3) we could pursue a comprehensive, long-term strategy to develop and strengthen the Canadian economy and other aspects of our national life and in the process to reduce the present Canadian vulnerability.

The first option involves a minimum of deliberate policy change, maintaining more or less intact the present pattern of our economic and political relationship. However, this option assumes a static situation which does not exist.

The second option accepts the proposition that the intensifying relationships inherent in modern society and in economies of scale tend to generate a momentum for closer integration with the United States. However, to pursue such a course would be to ignore the enormous disparity in power between the United States and Canada. In our circumstances the process of economic harmonization, once in motion, is more likely to spill over and to dominate other areas of our national life.

A central purpose of the third option would be to make the Canadian economy more resilient to external shocks. The path to this objective is the development of a much more balanced and efficient economy. The option involves actively encouraging specialization and rationalization. It looks to the emergence of healthy industrial and service enterprises in Canadian hands. This course seeks to avoid the situation, in which by dealing with bilateral questions on an ad hoc basis, looking only to their immediate implications, we find ourselves integrated by default. The third option faces up squarely to the future of our relations with the United States - and appears to offer the only route by which Canada can live "distinct from but in harmony" with the United States.

The Government has given these options and their probable costs long and careful consideration, and has concluded that the third option offers the best choice for Canadians and one that increasingly reflects the mood of this country.

This option does reflect our anxieties about the degree of continental pull. But it is not anti-American. Policies designed within the general framework of this option are intended to meet Canadian aspirations, to build on Canadian maturity and confidence, and in so doing reduce the irritations and frustrations which sometimes find outlet in anti-Americanism. In its annual report The State Department has indicated qualified but generally sympathetic understanding of the options paper.

In the sense that this policy is intended to produce a more resilient and mature Canadian economy, it is likely to become a more effective stabilizing factor within the continental context. The alternative is, as I have made clear, increasing integration. Increasing integration can only strengthen the protectionist forces which are abroad with consequent dangers to both economic and political stability in the world at large. Over the long run, option three is in the best interest of both our countries.

I have set out in very abbreviated form an outline of a most important policy guideline involving many complex issues and implications. As its significance and the considerations underlying it may not yet be fully appreciated, this is an area which Members may wish to explore in greater detail.

A logical complement to option three is increased attention to the development of our existing links with other major areas of the world. The enlarged European Community is, of course, a primary focus. Our day to day contacts with the Community have been reinforced by the appointment in Brussels of a separate Ambassador responsible for our relationships with the European Communities. In the past year there has been continued high level contact with the Commission and with Governments of member states. A mission of senior officials visited major European capitals in June, 1972. There have been sustained ministerial visits between the EEC and Canada, and, of course, the Prime Minister held talks with Mr. Heath in Britain last December. These contacts reflect

not only the increasing importance to Canada of the enlarged EEC but also the growing reciprocal interest of the countries of the Community in Canada.

The ratification of the Berlin Agreement and of the Warsaw and Moscow treaties concluded by West Germany, Poland and the USSR were highlights of the political year in Europe. However, of perhaps greater potential significance for Canada was the opening in November of talks in Helsinki between ambassadors of 34 nations - those of Europe, with Canada and the United States - with a view to preparing for a full-scale Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The participants in the first comprehensive negotiations in European security in a generation intend to address themselves to the basic causes of division and tension in Europe. The Canadian Government in particular is seeking to have the Conference recognize the general principle that people should be able to move with greater freedom between countries and the related propositions that members of families should not remain unwillingly separated and that citizens of different countries should be able to move freely.

Détente as a principal objective would require a meaningful reduction of the present confrontation of forces in Central Europe. For this reason Canada welcomed the opening of talks in Vienna on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in early January. The

main participants are the countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact which maintain forces in Central Europe. The negotiations are complex and difficult. However, in addition to the central objective of progress in East-West détente, the parallel negotiations present opportunities for Canadian cooperation with the countries of Europe, and in particular with our partners in NATO.

Over the past year Canada and the Soviet Union have begun to draw benefits from the three agreements on Industrial and General Exchanges and on Consultations signed in Moscow during the Prime Minister's visit the previous year. High level discussions under all three agreements were held. A senior Canadian delegation visited the Soviet Union to renew the existing Canada-Soviet Trade Agreement and to establish a Joint Consultative Committee on trade which held its first session following the renewal of the Agreement.

Sino-Canadian relations have developed rapidly since 1970, indeed remarkably, considering the enormous gap to be bridged. In the last year ministerial visits, my own last summer and that of the Honourable Donald Macdonald, who has just returned from China, trade and cultural exhibitions, together with an almost continuous stream of visits by specialized delegations on both sides, have contributed to a swiftly improving atmosphere for the development of productive contacts. Exchanges in cultural, academic, scientific, athletic as well as in industrial and commercial fields are flourishing in this climate.

A conscious effort is required to encourage Japan to play a more positive political role in the world commensurate with its economic strength. At the same time we have been attempting to "politicize" a bilateral relationship which has, in the past, been too narrowly commercial by increasing and deepening consultations in a wide variety of fields. Canadian ministers have accepted a Japanese invitation to attend the 7th Canada-Japan Ministerial meeting this September in Tokyo.

Canada's role in Viet-Nam will not be discussed in this statement. Members have heard me at length on this subject both in Parliament and in this Committee, but I would be pleased to answer questions.

Latin America is probably closer to economic take-off than any comparable region of the third world. As this evolution gathers momentum, Canadian interests are increasingly engaged. This last year Canada's first Ambassador and Permanent Observer to the OAS was accredited to that organization and full Canadian membership established with the Inter-American Development Bank and the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences. Members who heard the President of Mexico address the joint session of Parliament last month will know that useful progress has been made in the strengthening of our relations with Mexico.

Senior officials of the Commonwealth met in Ottawa in October to discuss and prepare two subjects for consideration at the

forthcoming Heads of Government Meeting in Ottawa. The subjects were "Comparative Techniques of Government" suggested by the Prime Minister at the last Heads of Government meeting in Singapore, and "means by which the agenda and general procedures might best restore flexibility and informality to future Heads of Government meetings".

Participation in francophone activities has also been active with programmes of the "Agence de Coopération culturelle et technique" developing steadily. An example on Canadian soil was the meeting of scientific experts which was organized by the "Agence" in Ottawa in October to recommend the establishment of a network of exchanges of scientific information among francophone countries.

Canada's deep interest in environmental problems expressed itself in the active and fruitful participation of a delegation consisting of representatives from federal and provincial governments and non-governmental organizations in the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm in June. This was undoubtedly one of the most significant conferences in United Nations history and Canada's contribution to its success has been given full international recognition. The proclamation of the Declaration on the Human Environment and the adoption of a United Nations Action Plan are of vital concern and embody many Canadian proposals to protect and enhance the quality of the environment. Principles were developed which lay a basis for a legal regime for the prevention of marine pollution and the preservation of the marine environment.

Another example of Canada's active concern in this area was the meeting last month in Ottawa of the NATO Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society, at the first such meeting to be held away from NATO Headquarters. The environmental experts and policy makers from NATO countries who attended this meeting judged it a considerable success.

Among other noteworthy Canadian contributions is the offer, since accepted by the United Nations General Assembly, to host a major United Nations Conference/Exposition on Human Settlements in Vancouver during 1976.

In November, 1972 an inter-governmental meeting was convened in London pursuant to a Stockholm recommendation to elaborate a convention on the prevention of marine pollution by the dumping of wastes at sea. Canada played a leading role in the preparation of this Convention which provides effective controls for the prevention of pollution from this source both in environmental and jurisdictional terms. Canada has signed the Convention and is considering early ratification of it.

Canada is heavily involved in preparations for the Third Law of the Sea Conference. The major Canadian objective involves a significant revision of the Law of the Sea, in particular the development of new legal regimes for the effective management and exploitation of ocean resources by coastal states including the establishment of new regimes in relation to fisheries, pollution control, scientific research and exploration and exploitation of the seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. Canada is similarly involved in preparations for a conference on marine pollution which will take place in October this year under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO). The purpose of this Conference is to develop new measures for the prevention of pollution from ships.

On the administrative and budgetary side of the United Nations, the most important development was the agreement that the share of the maximum contributor should not be more than 25%. Canada supported the United States' move for the reduction in its rate of contribution and worked to gain support for it.

We have welcomed the outcome of the negotiations which will make it possible for the Federal German Republic and the German Democratic Republic to join the United Nations, We have also supported the application of Bangladesh to join as well as its adherence to several specialized agencies.

Last December the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution establishing a 35 member ad hoc committee on international terrorism which will meet for the first time this Summer. The Government of Canada has been invited to serve on the committee where we intend to express the view that the Government of Canada, while believing that the underlying cause of terrorism should be studied, considers that the study should not delay the taking of immediate measures to prevent acts of international terrorism.

Since April 1971 Canada has been pressing for a new convention which would create effective international machinery for investigating, determining fault and taking "joint action" in cases where states contribute to a threat to the safety of civil aviation. Many states, for political or constitutional reasons, have been unwilling to go as far in taking joint action as provided in a Canada-U.S.A. draft convention. The ICAO Council, however, has decided to convene this summer in Rome a diplomatic conference and simultaneous extraordinary ICAO Assembly, to consider proposals involving either

a new convention or amendments to the ICAO constitution including a Nordic proposal for a new international convention, which in some respects is similar to the stronger Canada-U.S.A. proposal.

As Members are no doubt aware we have signed the Canada-Cuba Hijacking Agreement which, with its USA/Cuba counterpart, should serve as a potent deterrent to potential North American hijackers.

In the past year we have opened Missions in Lusaka, Budapest and Atlanta and have reopened our Mission in Berlin.

One purpose of these and of most of our Missions abroad is to serve the growing number of Canadian travellers. The volume of passports issued rose by 17.4% in 1972 for a total of over half a million. To keep pace with the increasing demand for passports and to provide better service in the area, two new regional passport offices were opened in Edmonton and Halifax early in 1972 and one more will open in Winnipeg in June 1973. In addition, in 1972 the Department introduced the booklet "Information for Canadians Travelling Overseas" which is being distributed to all passport applicants. The information in this booklet will be revised annually.

I have long felt that it is important for my Department to be as forthcoming as is reasonably practicable to the public and to Parliament. A notable example of the progress we have made in this field is the publication, which began last year, of "International Perspectives" replacing the old External Affairs Bulletin. The purpose of this new publication is to stimulate and encourage debate and to allow free expression of representative points of view without regard to our own policy on the issue.

Canada's development assistance programme is an integral and important part of her overall foreign relations and one which has been steadily evolving. Development is not something taking place in what we refer to as "developing" countries but a process we are all involved in as individuals and as nations. Development is a matter of degree and the pattern of development one of national preference. All countries are "developing", economically and socially, all countries have "underdeveloped" areas. We can no longer assume that the industrialized countries have reached some plateau of progress from which knowledge and assistance is dispensed to those struggling to reach our level. Our role is not to impose our methods and preferences on other countries, but to assist them where our capabilities and their needs coincide. Development assistance is being recognized increasingly as a reciprocal and responsive process. If we are prepared to be innovative, we can gain much knowledge from the development assistance relationship.

Development assistance is in the Canadian interest. We cannot exist in isolation, and our life is enriched by contact with other cultures. There are also specific Canadian interests which benefit from the development assistance programme. The programme can provide an

impetus to Canadian exports and employment but the primary objective remains the economic and social development of the less developed countries.

Turning to the CIDA estimates for 1973/74 which are before you today, I would like to draw a distinction between the level shown in the estimates for the total programme and what we term official development assistance (ODA). The appropriations for the total programme include the operating costs of CIDA and contributions to superannuation accounts; ODA does not. Secondly, appropriations for the total programme include votes to finance over a period of years the purchase of shares in multilateral institutions, such as the votes of \$40.4 million and \$7.575 million in 1972/73 to purchase shares of stock in the Inter-American Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank; ODA on the other hand, includes only the installments committed for that year from past or present votes. The level of appropriations for 1973/74 is \$501.696 million compared to \$483.366 million in 1972/73; ODA for 1973/74 is \$565 million compared to \$491 million in 1972/73.

In 1972/73 our disbursements were \$449 million, a satisfactory increase of 21½% over last year's figure. Total figures such as this, however, can give no measure of the effectiveness and quality of our programme, nor of the new directions we are taking.

One feature of our programme of which Canada can be proud is that the terms of our development assistance by the standards of the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD, are the softest of any member of the DAC. Many of the less developed countries will

face serious debt servicing problems in the future. Some already have. With an increasing emphasis being placed in the Canadian programme on the special needs and problems of the least developed countries, we feel it is important to maintain the soft terms for the major part of our programme, while at the same time extending some of our loans on slightly harder terms to countries which are better able to bear the burden of debt servicing.

We have been called upon to help alleviate the effects of natural disasters and political crises: in the Indian subcontinent where our relief and reconstruction efforts continue; in Nicaragua, where Canada is helping to rebuild the shattered city of Managua; in Zambia where Canada responded to Zambia's needs in the wake of the Rhodesia border closure by providing an \$8 million loan to Zambia, Tanzania and the East African Community to help develop alternative routes for Zambian imports and exports, and by speeding up shipment of forty rail tank cars, and cargo handling equipment being provided under CIDA's regular programme.

In 1972/73 we continued to channel approximately 25% of our disbursements through multilateral channels, as the Foreign Policy Review recommended. Our recent membership in the Inter-American Development Bank is one indication of our growing support for multilateral institutions. We also maintained our support of other regional institutions and agencies; the list on pp 72-73 of the Estimates gives some indication of the variety of organizations with which we are involved.

Our support for non-governmental organizations is increasing, for we consider that the money provided by the Canadian Government is more than matched by the resources and enthusiasm of these organizations. One such organization is CUSO, which has won a well-deserved reputation abroad for providing competent and responsive volunteers. Their volunteers, when they return to Canada, bring a deeper understanding of the problems of development.

Perhaps the most important single event which focussed the attention of the international community on development questions was the Third United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Santiago last Spring. Development needs are great and expectations about the amount of progress which can be made at such conferences were probably unrealistically high. For these reasons, there was obviously disappointment both in Canada and abroad over the results of UNCTAD III. We felt, however, that UNCTAD III revealed a new maturity in the international approach to development problems and a better appreciation that there are no easy solutions to most of them. One of the most important results of the Conference was agreement that the developing countries voice should be strengthened on questions regarding trade liberalization and monetary reform since it was realized these were integral parts of the development process. Another important result of the Conference was the action programme set out for the least developed of the developing countries. Since the Conference there has been movement in the international community indicating that these results may have real and long-term positive impact on the developing countries. Canada is attempting, not only through its development

assistance programmes, but also through its action in the international trade and monetary spheres, to keep the interests of the developing countries clearly in mind and to participate actively with other countries in meeting the goals established by UNCTAD.

Canada, of course, plays a relatively minor role in these global questions and the percentage of Canada's total trade with developing countries is quite small. Very recently, however, Canada has taken further steps by passing legislation on the Generalized Preference Scheme and by supporting the establishment of the Committee of 20 which is intended to give developing countries a greater role in international monetary reform. We also welcome the fact that developing countries are participating most actively in preparations for the forthcoming GATT Negotiations. These are first steps and it should be stressed that the broader problems of relations between all industrialized countries and the developing countries are ones which must be faced in the coming years.

Finally, I wish to draw the Committee's attention to two papers which have been prepared by the Department of External Affairs: "Department of External Affairs' Budget Estimates: Method of Presentation", and "Foreign Operations Coordination". These papers are being made available to Members of the Committee.

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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE
MITCHELL SHARP, IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
OF THE DEATH OF CANADIAN TOURISTS AT
ZAMBIAN/RHODESIAN BORDER, MAY 15, 1973.

Mr. Speaker, in order to inform the House, and the Canadian public, of developments to this date concerning the death of two Canadian girls on the Zambian/Rhodesia border, I wish to table, in both official languages, a statement on this tragic matter.

This statement sets out the facts of this tragedy as we know them. I wish to quote from, and thereby draw the attention of Honourable Members to, the conclusion of the statement: "The situation now is that our strong and persistent representations to the Zambian Government have resulted in expressions of regret and apologies, which I have no doubt are sincere, and an offer of ex gratia payments to the families of the slain girls. We appreciate these indications of their concern. The Zambian Government has not denied that the shots came from their guards but it has maintained that the sentry or sentries acted in accordance with their duty in the circumstances as they saw them. We do not consider that there is evidence of a threat to Zambian installations which would justify the prolonged shooting which resulted in the deaths of two innocent Canadian girls. As long as this major difference remains between our view of what happened and the view of the Zambian Government, we cannot consider the matter closed. Our stand all along has been that it is the responsibility of the Zambian Government to carry out investigations and produce explanations that will satisfy reasonable Canadian opinion."

I have instructed our High Commissioner in Lusaka, Mr. Broadbridge, to present the text of the statement I am tabling to the Zambian authorities.

STATEMENT TABLED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TO THE ZAMBIAN AUTHORITIES

I would like to review for the information of the House developments to this date concerning the death of two Canadian girls on the Zambian/Rhodesia border.

On May 16, 1973, the Department of External Affairs learned by telegram from our Embassy in Cape Town, South Africa, that Miss Christine Louise Sinclair of Guelph, Ontario, and Miss Marjan Drijber of Rockwood, Ontario, had been fired on by Zambian troops at the Rhodesian/Zambian border near Victoria Falls. Miss Sinclair reportedly was killed instantly. Miss Drijber had been hit by bullets and had fallen into the Zambezi River. Her body had not as yet been recovered.

The next of kin were notified immediately of these facts by the Department of External Affairs. The parents were assured that Canadian diplomatic representatives in the area would do whatever was possible to assist the families of the young women. Mr. Oscar Drijber indicated that he would personally fly to the area. He was informed that Canadian representatives were prepared to do whatever was required on his behalf if Mr. Drijber wished to avoid such a long trip under these distressing circumstances. Mr. Drijber was also informed about the political tension

existing between Rhodesia and Zambia so that he would be aware beforehand of possible difficulties he might encounter.

I instructed the Canadian High Commissioner in Lusaka, Zambia, to have the First Secretary, Mr. M. Leith, proceed immediately to Rhodesia to do whatever was possible to aid in the recovering of the bodies of the dead girls; to assist in carrying out the wishes of the next of kin regarding funeral arrangements; and to try to obtain the facts as to what actually took place on May 15. The Canadian High Commissioner in Lusaka was instructed to approach the Zambian authorities immediately to obtain assurances that a full and satisfactory investigation of the tragic incident would be carried out.

On May 18 the Zambian Government issued a communiqué which in essence admitted that a sentry on guard duty at a power station in the fourth gorge of the Zambezi River had fired upon the two young Canadians and their two companions, Mr. and Mrs. Crothers of the United States, because the sentry believed they were swimming across the Zambezi River on a mission to attack the Zambian power station.

I informed the House of Commons on May 22 that the Canadian authorities were awaiting Mr. Leith's findings. On May 23 I informed the House of Commons that "We have not accepted the Zambian explanation and this is one of the reasons we are making the investigation". In answer to questions from the press, I reiterated on May 24 that the Canadian Government was not "satisfied with the explanation" contained in the May 18 Zambian communiqué and that the High Commissioner, Mr. Broadbridge, was instructed to convey the findings of Mr. Leith to the Zambian Government.

On May 24 I informed the House that the Canadian High Commission in Lusaka had been told to "once again contact the Zambian authorities at a very high level to make clear to them that we are treating this matter very seriously indeed, and that we wish the fullest possible investigation to be continued. We are not satisfied with the public statement that has been made and we have received no direct communication from the Zambian Government."

On May 28 I tabled a letter from the Zambian Foreign Minister conveying deep-felt condolences to the Government and people of Canada and to the bereaved families of the two Canadian girls. On May 29 the Canadian Mission in Lusaka was instructed once again to inform the Zambian Government of strong Canadian concern and to point out that there was no evidence that the tourists were acting in a way to create suspicion. The Prime Minister sent a personal message to President Kaunda of Zambia on May 29 emphasizing Canadian concern over this tragic incident.

On May 31 I again reported to the House of Commons and informed the House of the main points on which Mr. Leith's findings and the evidence of the American couple who survived the shooting differed from the Zambian explanation. There was no evidence of provocation for the shooting; no evidence of the girls being in the water; no evidence that any of the party were wearing bandoliers or waterproof gear; and there was evidence of firing by more than one gun at more than one location.

Our High Commissioner in Lusaka saw President Kaunda over the June 2-3 weekend to emphasize the continuing concern of the Canadian Government. On June 4 President Kaunda sent a message to Prime Minister Trudeau conveying apologies and expressing his personal grief and sorrow concerning the May 15 deaths.

A special envoy went to Zambia at the beginning of June, as the House was informed on June 5. This was a Canadian who knew the President of Zambia personally and was particularly fitted to convey to him the depth of Canadian concern about the situation. That was the reason for sending him. On June 7 President Kaunda gave this envoy personal letters to deliver to Mr. and Mrs. Drijber and Reverend and Mrs. Sinclair, copies of which I tabled on June 11. President Kaunda's letters said, in part:

"I am writing to tell you of the deep personal grief which I have felt, and which is shared by the people of Zambia, at the tragic death of your daughter. The people of Zambia join with me in expressing deep regret at her death. ...as an indication of my country's deep regret at the loss you have sustained and of the esteem we feel toward the Canadian people, I am asking my government officials to discuss with the Canadian High Commission in Zambia the question of ex gratia payment to you. I hope that you will accept this gesture as a further expression of my deep sympathy and that of the Zambian nation".

On June 12 Mr. Drijber asked the Canadian Embassy in South Africa for assistance in obtaining a personal interview with President Kaunda. This was arranged, through our High Commissioner in Lusaka for June 20, at which time the President once again offered his sympathy and apology. A meeting was also arranged with Zambian defence officials and Mr. Drijber was taken by Zambian Government aircraft to visit the Zambian side of the gorge. Later he crossed the border to Rhodesia.

Mr. and Mrs. Drijber indicated after their return to Canada on July 4 that they would like to meet with me and officials of my Department contacted them to arrange a date on my return from Europe. The meeting took place on Thursday, July 12.

I have also received a letter from a lawyer representing the parents of Christine Sinclair requesting discussions about the ex gratia payment offered by President Kaunda.

The situation now is that our strong and persistent representations to the Zambian Government have resulted in expressions of regret and apologies, which I have no doubt are sincere, and an offer of ex gratia payments to the families of the slain girls. We appreciate these indications of their concern. The Zambian Government has not denied that the shots came from their guards but it has maintained that the sentry or sentries acted in accordance with their duty in the circumstances as they saw them. We do not consider that there is evidence of a threat to Zambian installations which would justify the prolonged shooting which resulted in the deaths of two innocent Canadian girls. As long as this major difference remains between our view of what happened and the view of the Zambian Government, we cannot consider the matter closed. Our stand all along has been that it is the responsibility of the Zambian Government to carry out investigations and produce explanations that will satisfy reasonable Canadian opinion.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MAY 29, 1973

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY



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NOTES FOR A STATEMENT IN THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE
HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
ON CANADIAN PARTICIPATION
IN THE ICCS BEYOND MAY 31, 1973

Mr. Speaker,

Speaking in the House on March 27 I said that the Government had decided to extend Canadian participation in the ICCS until May 31 and that before that date the Government would decide whether to remain or to withdraw.

At that time I said (as will be found on page 2630 of Hansard) that we would withdraw our contingent by June 30 unless there has been a substantial improvement in the situation or some signs of an imminent political agreement between the two South Vietnamese Parties.

The decision is a serious one and the Government so regards it. Canada has a reputation, I believe, for responsibility in international affairs. We have served in more peacekeeping and peace observer roles than any other country and we remain ready to serve wherever we can be effective. We have also in the course of this varied and extensive experience, including 19 years in Indochina, learned something about the conditions that are necessary to success in peacekeeping and peace observer activities.

The House will recall the efforts that the Government made to establish conditions which would help to improve the prospects for the successful functioning of the International Commission of Control and Supervision provided for in the Paris Agreement on Viet-Nam. I shall not repeat them now. The record of Canada's approach to the question of participation in the ICCS up to the end of March 1973 is to be found in a White Paper that I shall table at the conclusion of this statement.

Stated briefly, what we sought to ensure was that the new International Commission would be an impartial, fact-finding body, supported by the Parties to the Peace Agreement, with sufficient freedom of access to enable it to ascertain the facts about any alleged breach of the Agreement and reporting quickly not only to the Parties to the Agreement but also to the international community as a whole. While we did not achieve all our purposes, I think it is fair to say that we helped to effect some improvements, at least in form.

What we could not ensure, and what the ICCS could not ensure was peace in Viet-Nam. That depends on the Parties to the Peace Agreement and not on the ICCS. Nor can Canada alone ensure that the ICCS fulfils its function of peace observing and reporting as provided for in the Peace Agreement. That too depends on the Parties to the Agreement and on the other member delegations of the Commission.

Notwithstanding our hesitations and doubts we accepted membership for a trial period of 60 days. At the end of that first 60 days our hesitations and doubts had been reinforced but we were urged by many countries to show patience. So we agreed to another two-month period which is now coming to an end.

By and large there has been no significant change in the situation that would alter the view we formed at the end of the first 60 days, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the Canadian contingent to support the functioning of the International Commission.

Let me repeat that our attitude results from Canadian experience in the old ICSC and the Canadian concept of the functioning of a peace observer body. We are not criticizing the Peace Agreement. We welcomed that Agreement, we regard it as a good agreement that provides as sound and honourable a basis for peace as was negotiable. If the Parties will set themselves to applying it, as we hope they may yet do, it can bring lasting peace to Viet-Nam. We hope that the efforts of Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Le Duc Tho to achieve a stricter observance of the Agreement will be crowned with success.

We have come to the conclusion, however, that the Canadian concept of the functioning of the International Commission has not been accepted and that it would be in the interest of all concerned if we were now to withdraw. Nor do we believe that Canadian withdrawal would have any significant effect upon the prospects for peace in Viet-Nam. That depends upon the Parties to the Peace Agreement and not upon the ICCS. It is only if the Parties are cooperating in a strict observance of the Agreement and are willing to use the ICCS as a means of reinforcing the Agreement that the Commission can perform its function with any hope of success.

Throughout our tenure on the ICCS we have sought above all else to be objective. We have represented none of the contending parties. We have been as insistent in calling for and participating in investigations of alleged violations by the United States and the Republic of Viet-Nam as we have with regard to alleged violations by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the other South Vietnamese Party. If the RVN or USA have been at fault we have said so. If the other Parties were to blame for cease-fire violations we also have said so. I assure the House that we have no need to listen mutely now or later to any charges that we have acted partially; we can be proud of our objectivity in the Commission and of our attempts to see this impartiality as an integral part of Commission activities.

I also said in my statement to the House on March 27, that Canada would be prepared to return to Viet-Nam to participate in the international supervision of an election clearly held under the terms of the Paris Agreement and therefore with the concurrence and participation of the two South Vietnamese Parties. It went without saying that our participation would not be necessary if a replacement were found for Canada on the ICCS. I am not convinced that there is much chance that an election will take place as provided for in the Agreement, but if it should, (and we would want to examine it carefully to make sure it was this kind of election), and if no

replacement had been found for Canada, we would consider sympathetically a request to return temporarily to the ICCS for this purpose, in the light of the circumstances then prevailing and our assessment of the chances for effective supervision.

The Peace Agreement itself anticipates the replacement of the named members of the ICCS - Canada, Hungary, Indonesia and Poland - or any of them. I have also said that we would be prepared to remain on the Commission until June 30 so that a replacement could be found. We have since learned that the discussions which took place recently between Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Le Duc Tho will be resumed in June. We want to give those discussions every chance of success and we would certainly wish to do nothing that would complicate them by introducing what might seem to be too short a deadline for agreeing on a replacement for Canada on the Commission.

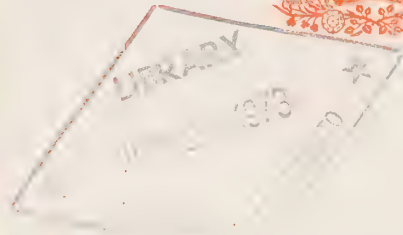
In recognition of that possible difficulty, we are prepared if the Parties to the Agreement so wish, to stay for a period beyond June 30 but not later than July 31. Canada's decision to withdraw is firm and definite, but the additional flexibility should give the Parties adequate time to find a replacement for the Canadian Delegation. Should a successor be named and be ready to take its place before July 31, we would of course be prepared to hand over our responsibilities at any mutually convenient earlier time. We shall, of course, continue to function as we have been doing during the remaining period of our stay on the Commission.

In conclusion, I should like to pay tribute to Ambassador Gauvin, Major-General MacAlpine and all the members of the Canadian Delegation now in Viet-Nam and to their predecessors going back to 1954. Notwithstanding great frustration and serious risks they have carried high the flag of Canada; for some it has cost them their life. Those who now will be returning to Canada can have the satisfaction of knowing that they did all in their power to help in bringing peace to the war-weary people of Viet-Nam. It was our Delegation that carried the main burden of organizing the work of the Commission and whatever success the Commission has had can, in a large measure, be attributed to their professional competence, dedication and energy.

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EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE
HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
TO A DINNER MEETING OF THE
OTTAWA CENTRAL LIONS CLUB,
CHÂTEAU LAURIER,
TUESDAY, JUNE 5, 1973

"VIET-NAM"

I think it should be clear ...that withdrawal does not represent in any way a shrinking away from international responsibilities. We do not withdraw from responsibilities because we may think a task is thankless, dangerous and difficult - but we do when it has become futile. There is certainly no question of giving in to the view that prevailed in the '30s - retreating into what we then mistakenly regarded as our fire-proof house.

It was originally decided that Canada would remain in the Commission until June 30 so that a replacement could be found. In conversations which I had recently with Dr. Kissinger, he emphasized the importance of the discussions which he is now having with Mr. Le Duc Tho in Paris. Naturally we are anxious to give these discussions every chance of success and we would certainly not wish to do anything which might complicate them by introducing what could be too short a deadline for agreeing on a replacement for Canada in the Commission.

It was in recognition of this situation that I indicated, that subject to the wishes to the parties to the agreement, Canada would stay on for a period beyond June 30 but not later than July 31.

...I am not confident but I can only hope that the Canadian decision may stimulate recalcitrant members into more constructive activity. It is our hope that our successor, whoever that may be, may be able to use our withdrawal to constructive advantage.

Many Canadians have expressed concern about reports of the treatment and continued incarceration of civilian prisoners in Viet-Nam. A number have suggested that the Commission and the Canadian Delegation in particular have been complacent or negligent with respect to this problem. These views are put forward on the assumption that Canada or the ICCS as a whole has either responsibility or authority to inquire into conditions of detention or press for the release of civilian detainees. In fact, the Commission's mandate for civilian detainees is very limited and very closely defined.

The sole authority which the Commission or any of its members has is to observe the return of Civilian detainees after the two South Vietnamese Parties have agreed to their return, and to examine the lists of persons being returned. The ICCS also has the obligation to visit the last detention places of such persons being returned. If the Parties choose not to release these people, or if they choose not to provide lists of civilians in detention, the Commission is powerless.

Notwithstanding our humanitarian instincts, we have to recognize that we are dealing with sovereign states in areas of their jurisdiction. If we intruded too far we could easily destroy whatever potential utility the Commission may still possess in this domain. Nevertheless, while I was in Saigon I took the opportunity to raise with President Nguyen Van Thieu and Foreign Minister Tran Van Lam the question of detained Vietnamese civilians

and to express the them the concern that many Canadians have conveyed to me.

More recently the picture has changed and I am pleased to be able to report that the release of a number of civilian prisoners has begun.

...Looking back I can confirm without hesitation that our initial decision to participate was the right decision. Our reasoning then, for joining the Commission as well as our reservations, have been largely indicated. In Paris the negotiators envisaged that the ICCS, with its four members, would form part of an integrated package designed to accomplish a series of objectives. While the central objective of peace has not been attained, the Paris machinery, including the ICCS, has provided a working framework for a number of solid achievements. Although the fighting is continuing, the level of violence has subsided when compared with the period preceding the Paris Agreement. The United States has been able to disengage and withdraw its ground forces from Viet-Nam. There has been the long awaited exchange of military prisoners. These are not inconsiderable achievements and there should be satisfaction that we were able to contribute, even modestly, to their achievement.



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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE
HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
TO THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY
AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE,
HELSINKI, JULY 4, 1973

Mr. Chairman,

I should like first to echo the words of gratitude expressed by previous speakers for the meticulous arrangements which have been made for us here by our Finnish hosts. The warm reception we have all received is in the best traditions of Northern hospitality. We are also in debt to Finland for their patient efforts and material support which were instrumental in helping to organize and carry through the preparatory consultations to a successful conclusion over many months of meetings.

Our Ambassadors at those consultations did their job well: their careful labours have produced mandates which carry the consensus of all the participants. Given the kind of goodwill now being expressed, there are reasonable prospects this conference can produce results of enduring value.

Not only have the preparatory consultations produced a useful document; they have also taught us certain lessons about this new form of negotiation by consensus -- lessons that will be of value in the later stages of the conference. The first lesson is that the road to success is to be found through serious and detailed negotiations accompanied by a willingness on all sides to approach difficulties in a spirit of accommodation rather than confrontation.

The second is that there can be no artificial time limits or other constraints; if representatives of sovereign states seeking greater security and co-operation are forced to rush to their conclusions the inevitable result will be agreement at the minimum level. With such a result everyone would lose. Our objective should be not quick results but the greatest positive content in the documents that will emerge from this conference.

The third lesson is that negotiations of the kind in which we are engaged cannot be isolated. They form part of a general process of improving relations; a process which includes other multilateral negotiations and also bilateral contacts. Notable in this respect are the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks and the agreements reached recently by Mr. Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev. We also welcome, in particular, the recent decision to open negotiations in Vienna on October 30 on mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe. Progress in one set of negotiations ought to, and no doubt will, have a favourable effect on the others as they move ahead together in the same general period of time.

We are laying the groundwork for a new kind of world -- a world which should be better than the one we have known. This is cause for encouragement, even though the challenge is daunting. But ours is only a beginning. The document before us has in all conscience been difficult enough to prepare but it provides only a framework for the second stage of this conference and is not by itself any guarantee of a successful outcome. It has already been pointed out that the mandates are not final formulations. But they embody agreed concepts and express a basic balance among the interests of the states participating in this conference. As such, they form an acceptable basis for the elaboration of more detailed and substantive documents. The course which has been set is a good one; we should keep to it.

As I see it, we are assigning two principal tasks to the second stage of the conference: First, to establish guiding principles for future co-operation and negotiation -- both multilateral and bilateral -- in each area of the agenda; and second, to work out ways and means of putting these principles into practical application. Both these elements must be present if the work this conference will do is to be meaningful for the peoples for whom we speak.

Let me now indicate briefly how Canada views the mandates and the tasks that are to be assigned to the second stage. Under the first item of the agenda the main task will be to enunciate principles which should guide relations among states. Such principles can provide an important basis for future security and co-operation, not only in Europe but more widely in the world. Canada has a direct interest in this item because it regards Canadian security and European security as interdependent. I heartily agree with previous speakers that fundamental to all such principles is the proposition that the use or threat of force must be ruled out completely in relations among all states regardless of their political, economic or social systems. A corollary is that national boundaries and territories should be inviolable and that disputes should be settled by peaceful means. At the same time, nothing we propose should deny or exclude the possibility of peaceful change. Evolution is in the nature of things. The history of the world provides plentiful evidence that man-made efforts to prevent it may well be not only futile, but, indeed, dangerous to future peace and stability.

Canada has been encouraged that one of the mandates calls for the preparation of proposals for confidence-building measures. The least the world can expect of us is that, in our search for greater security, we define measures to enhance confidence and to lessen the risk of military surprise or miscalculation.

In its discussion of economic co-operation, the conference should have regard to the wider context of multilateral trade negotiations and discussions on monetary reform taking place elsewhere. This conference should not, in our view, engage in negotiations on these matters. It will, however, be a place where we can give support to the idea of removing barriers to trade which can in turn facilitate other forms of co-operation and exchange. Canada has always encouraged trading nations to be outward-looking and to avoid discrimination in trading matters. It will continue to urge all countries, and particularly the states participating in this conference, to approach trading relations not only among themselves but with the rest of the world in this spirit.

As we seek to improve our relations in the economic, technological and environmental fields, we should not forget our responsibility to the developing countries. As we advocate action and co-operation which would result in increases in the wealth and welfare of our peoples, we should bear in mind the need to extend these economic benefits to those countries in the world less well endowed. Fortunately there is no inherent contradiction between these two objectives. They are complementary, not competitive.

For the future, it is our view that it would be inadvisable, especially in the field of economics, were the conference to try to duplicate the work of existing bodies. There are already organizations competent to deal with matters falling within this field and they should be used to the

maximum. Certain aspects of our economic relationship may not fall neatly within the ambit of one or other of these institutions and it may prove necessary to revitalize other organizations already in possession of a great deal of relevant experience to fill the gaps. I have in mind in particular the Economic Commission for Europe. Canada is seeking full membership so that we may play our full part in any tasks the conference may consider appropriate for that body.

I now turn to an area in which Canada expressed particular interest at the preparatory talks -- that of co-operation in expanding contacts between people and in solving humanitarian problems. Without improvement in human contacts and relations of all kinds, the work that we shall do here and in Geneva will have limited practical effect and little meaning for our peoples. More normal relations and expanded co-operation should involve not only governments and official bodies but should also extend to the level of person-to-person contacts.

We in Canada believe, and we think it reflects the views of humanity as a whole, that members of families should not remain unwillingly separated because they reside in different states and that citizens of different countries should be able freely to marry and join their spouses. While we recognize that specific cases must of necessity be dealt with on a bilateral basis, the enunciation of principles and the adoption of concrete measures on divided families and like problems would, we believe, substantially improve inter-state relations.

Canada attaches the highest importance to this question of freer movement, not only because of the composition of the Canadian population but also because we believe that progress depends more on putting these principles into effect than on repeating accepted norms. This question is, in many ways, the touch-stone of the success of the conference. If we can achieve gradual but meaningful progress in removing barriers to the movement of persons and information, we will be well on the way to achieving our goals -- creating the mutual understanding and confidence necessary for any enduring security and co-operation. For these reasons, I shall be asking the executive secretary to circulate a written submission on this question for consideration at the second stage of the conference.

All of us, I am sure, are already thinking of what may follow a successful conference. On this subject, we in Canada have an open mind. As the negotiations proceed over the next months, we will be able more easily to reach a judgment on whether any follow-up machinery will be justified, and if so, what. If it is eventually decided that such machinery should be created, Canada's chief preoccupation will be to ensure that it will have clear and precise terms of reference, will not duplicate existing institutions and will provide for full participation by Canada and the United States of America as well as by all European states. The security of North America and Europe are interdependent: so are their economic and cultural future, and our common participation in this conference and in any follow-up to it will be essential.

Mr. Chairman, this is an historic moment because it is the first time the foreign ministers of all (or practically all) the states of Europe have assembled in company with Canada and the United States of America to work out ways of furthering their common interests in greater security and wider co-operation. This occasion reflects in a tangible way that interdependence of Europe and North America of which I have spoken and which is such an important fact of international life for Canada in particular.

We are in the course of initiating a new kind of negotiating process in which decisions are taken by consensus of all the participants, large and small, aligned and non-aligned: a process by which each shares responsibility for their implementation; where no state or states, because of size or power, can dictate the outcome.

In this new approach in which we are all engaged, we will be creating new kinds of relationships in Europe that will influence significantly the shape of developments on this continent and in our countries over the coming years. In so doing we have before us a basic question: will the principles that we will be drawing up be based on the mutual hostility and distrust of the past or on a growing degree of mutual tolerance and confidence? Co-existence may be peaceful in purely physical terms but can be warlike in psychological terms. Devotion to one's own system or ideology need not and should not imply a commitment to convert others or to force them unwillingly to follow ideas in which they do not believe. Detente implies not the removal of differences in systems and ideologies but their mutual acceptance and accommodation in the interests of greater co-operation, freer movement and more open communications among people as well as states. Competition, yes, but antagonism, no. Only in this way can the division of Europe be overcome.

There must be a broader and more dynamic concept of co-existence of people as well as states, of ideas and ways of life as well as of regimes and systems. How otherwise can they enrich one another and promote the ideals of mankind? Otherwise we will have only uneasy existence in which real détente -- lasting and rewarding for all -- will be impossible.

It is in this new and deeper spirit of live-and-let-live that we hope the second stage of the conference, which we see opening in mid-September, will embark on its important task. It is also in this spirit that Canada, for its part, will participate fully in all aspects of the conference, convinced that in doing so it will be contributing to the security and well-being both of Canada itself and of the international community.



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SUBMISSION OF CANADA IN ACCORDANCE WITH
CHAPTER I PARAGRAPH 6 (B) OF THE FINAL
RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HELSINKI
CONSULTATIONS MADE BY THE SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE
HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP, IN HELSINKI,
JULY 5, 1973.

In accordance with Chapter 1 paragraph 6 (B) of the final recommendations of the Helsinki consultations, the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada would like to make the following submission for consideration by the committee to be set up by the conference at the second stage to prepare proposals to facilitate freer movement and contacts under item III of the agenda.

It is the Canadian view that the committee/subcommittee, in accordance with its terms of reference, should examine the practical possibilities of progressively reducing and eventually eliminating man-made obstacles of an arbitrary nature to contacts between people and to the solution of humanitarian problems, and should work out ways and means appropriate to these aims. In so doing, it should seek to achieve the following improvements in particular:

(1) Liberalization of procedures applying to the exit of individuals and their families from participating states and of procedures for issuing passports for their travel abroad;

(2) Prompt granting of permission for families to reunite across national boundaries, for members of families to contact and meet each other regularly, and for nationals of different states to marry;

(3) Liberalization of restrictions on the validity of passports, on foreign exchange allowances and on the disposal of property of those leaving participating states;

(4) Elimination of zones closed to travel by foreign nationals within the territories of participating states, with the exception of areas restricted for reasons of military security;

(5) Assurance of access to diplomatic, consular or other officially sponsored foreign establishments in participating states by visitors to those states and to citizens of those states seeking information.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
SEPTEMBER 25, 1973

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STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY
OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS.

SECRÉTAIRE
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EXTÉRIEURES.

NOTES FOR A STATEMENT BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
AT THE 28TH SESSION OF THE UNITED
NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, NEW YORK,
SEPTEMBER 25, 1973



Mr. President,

I begin by expressing Canada's congratulations to you on your election to the presidency. As a representative of Ecuador you have played an active role in the affairs of Latin America and in many areas of world co-operation. We welcome your election and wish you well in carrying out the high duties of leadership of the 28th session.

By the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Democratic German Republic, the United Nations has taken another big step towards universality. Canada applauds the breadth of mind -- the evolution from stalemate in Europe -- that has made these states welcome within our organization.

Canada also warmly welcomes the admission of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas as a full member. As a country that has long enjoyed close links with the Bahamas, we are confident that the influence of our newest member will be directed to the highest interests of the United Nations.

The United Nations is becoming universal -- is it becoming more effective as an instrument for the attainment of the hopes and aspirations of mankind.

Since last we met here one of the architects of this organization, the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, died in Canada. In those bright, hopeful days when he and others were engaged in preparing for the birth of the United Nations, Mr. Pearson expressed his fear that when the unifying pressures of world war have subsided, "nationalist pride and prejudice would become strong again -- and the narrow concept of the national interest prevail". This judgement on the future was all too quickly proven accurate. Yet as conscious of its imperfections as any man, Mr. Pearson remained convinced that the United Nations was indispensable for even the most slow and painful march away from mass violence and poverty.

It is true that in certain key areas of world security, the United Nations appears to have been by-passed. Improved relations between the great powers have been achieved essentially through bilateral efforts. Significant steps have been taken towards greater European stability with the European Security Conference and talks on Mutual Balanced Force Reductions. The agreement reached bilaterally between India and Pakistan, restoring the conditions of peace and future co-operation in the sub-continent has been warmly welcomed by the world community.

All of us are, in some degree, affected by these deliberations and decisions, and we recognize that it is the nature of our world's society that all of us do not have the opportunity to contribute to the decision-making as we would wish through this world forum. As the Secretary General has said in his excellent introduction to the annual report: "It is necessary to emphasize that there is no inevitable clash between bilateral and multilateral diplomacy. They are, or should be, mutually supporting, each having particular advantages in particular situations. There is no single road to peace -- we have to try all roads."

But we should never fail to assert the interest and the primacy of this organization where it has an indispensable role to play.

Such was Canada's view at the International Conference on Viet-Nam held early this year in Paris. I attempted to have the United Nations and the United Nations' Secretary General firmly integrated into the peace observation machinery which was being established at that conference. These efforts failed.

After five months of efforts to play the role of an impartial international observer, we withdrew from the International Commission of Control and Supervision in Viet-Nam, frustrated but by no means embittered.

Canada remains prepared to play its part in peacekeeping and peace observation. But we have learned a lesson from our long and frustrating attempts to have these peacekeeping bodies operate objectively. The lesson is this -- peacekeeping and peace observation operations stand the best chance of success if they are conducted under the authority of the United Nations' Security Council.

We have long assumed that progress in technology, agriculture and communications would mean progress for the underprivileged -- a ladder on which people could climb away from hunger, disease and degradation. Yet tragically the word "progress" has come to mock us: the gap between rich and poor is wider than ever. Material achievements are threatened by spiralling world inflation, increasing pollution, unforeseen commodity shortages and by the capricious movements of world finance.

For ill as well as for good, we are increasingly inter-dependent however jealously we guard our independence. No nation can solve inflation in isolation from the others. No nation can ensure the cleanness of air or the purity of water that flows freely across political boundaries. Faced individually by each sovereign state, the challenges are insurmountable. For they are universal problems and they can only be met effectively by universal solutions. The United Nations and its agencies are the only bodies with the authority and with the breadth of representation to meet these challenges.

Even collectively these challenges are intimidating. Our experience with the problems of international security not least those of the Middle East -- has taught us that they will not be overcome by conferences alone, by resolutions or by formal votes. They require a profound and clear-headed appreciation of the dimensions of the problems matched by a common will to work co-operatively towards solutions.

We must try to avoid barren and abusive confrontations which are frequently the result of the formal voting process. Consensus is another and often surer route. It is the technique we are increasingly using at our Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings. The results are not dramatic -- but they are nonetheless real.

Consensus does not mean the imposition of the will of the majority on a reluctant minority which feels its vital interests are at issue; it means the shared recognition of what should and can be done. I believe we attach far too much importance to the voting scores -- votes are little solace to the hungry.

There have been three successive years of drought in parts of Africa and the Asian sub-continent and abnormally poor growing seasons in many other parts of the world. Until now only a few food producing nations, including Canada, held surplus food stocks and even their existing stocks fluctuated according to weather conditions and international demand. Over the years, efforts to create food banks have proved largely unsuccessful.

Now, a constructive proposal to assure world food security has been introduced by the Director General of the Food and Agricultural Agency. Its rate of success will be directly proportional to the effort made by each nation to adjust accordingly its food production and stocking policies. I urge every nation -- not just those who are the traditional surplus food producers -- to support and co-operate with the Food and Agricultural Agency in this task. It is an essential task if we are to exorcise the dreadful spectre of starvation which menaces millions of human beings. Canada has supported the revitalization which, over the past few years, has been transforming the Economic and Social Council. A very important change for Canada and for Canada's relations with Europe was our election by the Economic and Social Council to full membership on the Economic Commission for Europe.

One of the prime responsibilities of the Economic and Social Council is the successful implementation of the action programme adopted by this assembly for the Second United Nations Development Decade -- the international development strategy. That strategy is neither perfect nor immutable. Our appraisal of it has proven already to be a difficult process. It is not, however, an impossible process, and it is one that I hope will become easier as we all become more attuned to its requirements.

Mr. President, we stand in the shadow of other terrifying and universal problems, which can only be overcome by international co-operation. Last year I spoke out strongly about terrorism and I must do so again. Civilization cries out for effective action by the international community to protect innocent persons against premeditated acts of violence.

Since last year international efforts to combat terrorism have gathered some momentum through various international organizations and instrumentalities. Over 86 states have, for example, signed the 1970 Hague Convention on Aerial Hijacking. It is encouraging to note the growing list of ratifications to combat acts of unlawful interference with civil aviation by states from all geographical regions and of all political views. However, terrorism has not been eliminated; it remains a double-edged sword -- in its indiscriminate sweep it cuts at the roots of international order as well as at the hand that wields it.

We shall look to all nations and to the General Assembly for action on further measures to combat acts of terrorism.

Terror has another face. It is that of nuclear poison and the ultimate threat of nuclear holocaust. Although ten years have elapsed since the Partial Test Ban came into force, there has been no further progress toward achieving the cessation of all nuclear tests -- which was the ultimate objective of the signatories of that treaty. Despite improving prospects for international security resulting from strategic arms limitation agreements, there has, regrettably, been no sign that either of the super-powers is prepared to curtail underground nuclear testing -- or to enter into

active negotiations towards the achievement of a comprehensive test ban treaty. Nor have two great powers brought to an end nuclear testing in the atmosphere, despite the overwhelming weight of world public opinion.

Mr. President, the global dimension is clear and striking in the use we make of the oceans. Coastal states must protect their economic and environmental interests. On the other hand, there must be certain traditional freedoms on the oceans to facilitate world-wide exchanges. We continue to believe that these elements of the law of the sea are not irreconcilable and that a proper balance can and must be achieved. Canada believes that these rights, which are essential to the well-being of developing and developed coastal states alike, can be exercised in a manner that will take into account the rights of other legitimate users of the sea -- mankind as a whole. A new international order recognizing both the fundamental rights and responsibilities of states in respect of the oceans can emerge from the Third Law of the Sea Conference, if the governments here assembled have the will.

Similarly, outer space offers exciting prospects of benefit in meeting terrestrial needs in resource management, communications and education. These prospects can be realized for all our peoples only by searching for new and imaginative forms of international co-operation -- and I believe that through the United Nations we are well embarked on this search.

Last year the General Assembly accepted the Canadian invitation to host a conference on the urgent and vital question of human settlements now scheduled for Vancouver. We were delighted that the General Assembly responded so warmly to this invitation and are encouraged by the co-operation and enthusiasm which has been displayed during the initial planning stages for the conference.

This year we celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Human Rights Declaration. Yet parts of Southern Africa minority régimes still deny man's basic rights through stubborn opposition to his efforts to achieve quality. Canada recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle to win full human rights and self-determination in Southern Africa and is studying ways to broaden its humanitarian support for those engaged in these efforts. The most effective way to mark this anniversary will be for each nation to redouble its concern to extend human rights to all its people. But concern must be expressed through achievement.

Mankind's occupation of this planet has been neither wise nor far-sighted. Because of our greed, our indifference and our ignorance, we are speeding on a fatal collision course with our environment. The exploitation of our natural resources has been incessant, uncaring and exhaustive. Our air and our waters are becoming foul and poisonous. We seem to be incapable of feeding and clothing adequately our growing millions. We are unable to live peacefully together or share our bounty so that all may live a life of dignity.

Although there is no doubt that in some circumstances the agencies of the United Nations can and do move swiftly, on the whole no one can accuse this organization of approaching its problems with unseemly haste. Too many items have taken up permanent annual residence on the agenda. Still some progress is being made. The increasing universality of the United Nations is an outstanding example.

But there is lacking a sense of urgency -- a collective sense of urgency about the towering problems confronting mankind and this organization. In our race with poverty and starvation, terrorism and armaments, pollution and bigotry we are too apt to forget that time is not on our side.

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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
OCTOBER 5, 1973

"CHILE"



The recent events in Chile, particularly the situation of Chileans and non-Chileans who now wish to leave that country have given rise to understandable concern on the part of the Government and on the part of all Canadians.

As I stated in the House of Commons on September 12 the Government extended its sympathy to the people of Chile on the death of their President and I expressed the hope that democracy would be re-established as soon as possible.

Canada extended its formal recognition of the new Government of Chile on September 29 in order to be able to deal with the government that was effectively in control, and to assist Canadians and many other persons affected by recent events in Chile. As indicated at that time, an act of recognition does not imply any particular attitude toward the government being recognized.

Immediately after the coup d'état in Chile and the accompanying violent situation in Santiago, the Canadian Embassy granted refuge to eight Canadians and 9 non-Canadians. By September 24, the Embassy had arranged for the safe conduct out of Chile for all these Canadians as well as three others who had been detained by the Chilean authorities. The Embassy also arranged for the safe conduct out of Chile of four non-Canadians who had sought refuge in the Embassy, and it worked closely with other diplomatic missions and the representative of the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees to assist about 50 other non-Canadians who desired to leave the country.

The primary responsibility of all Canadian Embassies abroad is the protection of Canadians and Canadian interests. Canada, like most other countries outside Latin America, does not have a doctrine of granting political asylum in its Embassies. Nevertheless, exceptions are made on humanitarian grounds and the standing instructions for all Canadian Embassies authorize the Head of Mission to grant temporary refuge to any person, whether a Canadian citizen or not, "whose life is in immediate danger arising from political disturbances or riots". A decision in this regard must, of course, be left to the judgement of the Head of Mission in the light of the circumstances at the time, the effect that this action could have on his primary responsibility for the protection of Canadians and the likelihood that he might not be able to get them out of the country. Canadian Embassies, unlike those of Latin American countries, are unable to guarantee asylum because we do not have the reciprocal arrangements or understandings in this regard which are common and unique among Latin American countries.

Within the past several days a number of persons, not in any clear or immediate danger, have enquired at the Embassy about the possibility of asylum or of leaving Chile. They have been assisted by the Embassy in making contact with the Embassies of their own nationality or of the country of their requested destination which would be in the best position to assist them. I wish to assure that no one who has approached the Canadian Embassy with a genuine request for assistance has been refused a hearing and no person who was clearly in imminent danger of his life has been denied refuge.

At the first of this week there were only two requests for emigration to Canada from among the approximately twelve non-Canadians still in our Embassy. Later this week, however, the remainder indicated a wish to emigrate to Canada and the Government instructed on October 3, that a Canadian Immigration Officer in Buenos Aires proceed immediately to Santiago to assist them.

As I have already stated in the House of Commons, the Government will give very sympathetic consideration to requests by persons in Chile wishing to leave that country to emigrate to Canada. I have already indicated this to the United Nations' Secretary General when I met him in New York last week and had the opportunity

of discussing this situation. Our Embassy has been co-operating with resident representatives of the United Nations in Santiago in this regard throughout this difficult period and will continue to do so.

Because of my deep concern over this difficult situation I have instructed Mr. Pierre Charpentier, the Head of the Department's Latin American Division and formerly Canadian Ambassador to Peru and Bolivia, to proceed immediately to Santiago to consult with our Ambassador and with the Chilean authorities as to what further practical measures can be taken in this regard. I have also called in the Chilean Chargé d'Affaires in Ottawa today to emphasize to him the great humanitarian concern felt by all Canadians about the recent events in Chile and to re-iterate Canada's willingness and desire to co-operate in the movement of refugees and the abatement of personal suffering in that country.

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STATEMENTS BY THE SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP ON
OCTOBER 6 AND OCTOBER 8, 1973

SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 6, 1973

I was distressed to learn that hostilities had broken out once again in the Middle East. Reports indicate clearly that the present fighting is the severest since the 1967 war. I would urge the parties to agree to an immediate cease-fire and I would hope that they will agree to submit their differences for resolution to the United Nations.

This renewal of the conflict is to be deplored and tragically underscores the need for the parties to the dispute to reach a settlement within the framework of Resolution 242, in order that a durable and lasting peace will prevail and the security of all countries and peoples of the region will be ensured.

To date, the present hostilities seem confined to the areas adjacent to the 1967 cease-fire lines - in the Golan Heights and in the Suez Canal area - and we have had no reports of any Canadian civilians being in any imminent danger. There are 20 Canadian military observers in the area serving with the U.N. Truce Supervisory Organization.

We are continuing to watch the situation closely.

STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 8, 1973

From United Nations' observers reports now being published in New York, the indications are that on this occasion initial attacks across the cease-fire line came from the Egyptian and Syrian sides. But what is important now is not who started the present round of fighting, but to get it stopped. We are urging both parties to restore the cease-fire as soon as possible. There is grave danger that continued fighting, with both sides trying to gain some military advantage before accepting a new cease-fire, will make it more difficult to start the process of peaceful negotiation. Every outbreak of fighting brings more casualties, more destruction, more bitterness for the people of the Arab countries and Israel. Surely the lesson of events in recent years in the Middle East is that in the absence of a negotiated settlement, one war only leads to another.

We are in touch with the Secretary General of the United Nations and will do everything we can to strengthen his hand. The U.N. has machinery that can be used to restore the cease-fire and we are appealing to everyone concerned to make use of it. We are making this appeal to Israel and the Arab countries as well as to the great powers. The Prime Minister will take advantage of his meeting with Chinese leaders to discuss this grave outbreak of violence in the Middle East. We hope the Chinese will use their influence in favour of a cease-fire followed by negotiations on a peaceful settlement. I have asked our Ambassadors in Washington and Moscow, as well as in other capitals, to put our point of view to these governments.

Our Embassies are being kept open on a 24 hour basis and Canadians in the region are being advised to keep in close touch with our representatives.

Reports from our missions indicate that no Canadians are in any imminent danger, although naturally we are keeping a close watch on the situation.

We have a report from our representatives in the area that the Canadians serving with UNTSO (United Nations Truce Supervision Organization) are all unharmed and accounted for. I might also add that during the course of a meeting yesterday with our Permanent Rep. to the U.N., Secretary General Waldheim indicated that Canadian UNTSO observers "are doing an excellent job under extremely difficult conditions".

NOT FOR PUBLICATION BEFORE
10:00 HOURS, OCTOBER 15, 1973

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NOTES FOR A SPEECH BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
TO THE INSTITUTE OF NEWSPAPER
CONTROLLERS AND FINANCE OFFICERS
IN TORONTO, OCTOBER 15, 1973

"CANADA AND THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY"

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Shortly after the Second World War, Walter Lippmann wrote that the Atlantic ocean unites the Americas and Western Europe "in a common strategic, economic and cultural system". While this proposition remains fundamentally unchanged, the Atlantic Community has undergone many important changes in the intervening years.

In contrast to the tragic conflict in the Middle East, détente in Europe is well advanced. A significant new pattern of relationships has evolved between the super-powers and new centres of power have emerged in Japan and in China. Intersecting with these changes has been the construction of an increasingly cohesive and dynamic European Community -- a development which has implications for Canada as well as for the United States which are as much political as they are economic.

It was timely then, this spring, for Dr. Kissinger to open the United States' initiative on the Year of Europe.

My initial reaction to this speech was one of welcome -- but of cautious welcome. We welcomed it as a serious and constructive attempt to launch a co-operative review of the Atlantic relationship in the light of the new set of problems facing the U.S.A. and its allies. We also interpreted it as an important reaffirmation of an outward-looking American foreign policy.

But as I said our welcome was cautious. One reason for our caution was because it was not clear whether -- and if so how -- the Canadian interests would be taken into account.

Canada was mentioned, but almost as a footnote. And for that matter how would Japan fit into a formulation which seemed to bear on the interests of the industrialized democracies as a whole? Was it by way of a tri-polar system? Dr. Kissinger had identified three main power centres in the non-communist world: the United States, Europe and Japan. While we have no illusions about becoming a fourth power centre, we believe that we have a distinctive contribution to make. We remain concerned not to find ourselves polarized around any of the main power centres.

In my travels outside of Canada, I have sometimes found an assumption that Canada should fall naturally and inevitably into the United States' orbit. This is perhaps understandable, but it is unacceptable to Canadians. It is inconsistent with our conception both of what Canada is and what our interdependent world should be. It runs against the grain of post-war Canadian efforts to build an open and liberal world trading system. It is also contrary to the Canadian Government's basic policy of a relationship "distinct but in harmony" with the United States.

North America is not a monolithic whole -- economically or politically. Nor do I think it would be in the interest of any of the parties concerned to deal with a single North American colossus.

Canada's relationship with Europe is not the same as the United States' relationship with Europe. There are political, economic, cultural and linguistic elements in our relationship with Europe which are unique. Perhaps in relative terms our relationship is more important to us than the United States of America's relationship with Europe is to the Americans. Forty-two percent^{*} of our immigration

continues to come from Europe. Our national fabric is made up of many distinctive ethnic groups -- many of them European. These have not been assimilated into a Canadian homogeneity. They preserve and value their links with Europe as they do their Canadian nationality. Canada's security is indivisible from that of Europe. Our exports to Europe represent 2.8 percent^{*} of our G.N.P. -- whereas the United States' exports to Europe represents 1.3 percent of the United States' G.N.P. The countries of the European Economic Community together constitute our second most important trading partner -- after the United States.

Now, the second reason for being cautious in welcoming the Year of Europe was my concern that a declaration or even a series of declarations should not be regarded as a substitute for the hard work in many forums required to find solutions to the substantive political, military and economic problems facing the trans-Atlantic community. From the Canadian point of view, moreover, we would not want a declaration to divert us or the Europeans from developing the sort of meaningful long-term relationship we have been pursuing with the enlarged European Economic Community.

Thirdly, we are anxious that the discussions now going forward between the community and the United States do not in any way pre-empt the NATO forum from performing its role as a diplomatic instrument in reinforcing the basic solidarity of the Atlantic nations. Without trespassing on the existing universal and regional forums for economic negotiation, NATO has, under Article 2, another task in avoiding serious conflict and disarray between member states in their economic policies.

We should be addressing ourselves to the equally vital issues of spiralling inflation, rising deficits from energy and defence expenditures and the capricious movements of world finance.

You will understand that questions such as these were very much on my mind when I met with Dr. Kissinger in New York for the first time in his new capacity as Secretary of State. While we did not have an opportunity for detailed discussion, it was a most cordial and satisfactory meeting. Dr. Kissinger expressed interest in -- and an awareness of -- the Canadian perspective on many of these and other bilateral questions. I believe we are on common ground with respect to the development of the Atlantic relationship within appropriate multilateral forums such as NATO and the O.E.C.D.

While there is much common ground, you will appreciate that the Canadian approach to the Atlantic relationship is by no means always identical with the American. There are distinctive Canadian views on the European Security Conference, on the development of relations with the enlarged community and on such issues as trade and monetary policies.

Canadians are often accused of being reserved -- perhaps of other things as well. Some of this may be true, although as a feature of the national character, I believe the charge is exaggerated. However, on the international plane reticence, no less than bombast, is a characteristic we cannot afford. On these issues, which vitally affect our present and future

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^{*}1972 figures.

self-interest we are determined that our position should be clearly understood -- and not overtaken by default. I look forward to the opportunity of discussing these questions in greater detail with Dr. Kissinger and with Mr. Christopher Soames in the very near future.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I find there is a tendency when speaking about issues of great importance to us all to say that I am expressing "the Canadian view". Very often, of course, this is both pretentious and inaccurate. I should be expressing "the view of the Canadian Government". For as this group will be aware, the views of the government are not always uniformly accepted across the land. Newspapers especially tend to have their own point of view. Although, as you may have noticed over the years we, on the government side, are not invariably graceful or generous in acknowledging this role of the press, we do value it.

I believe that in spirit we would subscribe to these remarks by Thomas Jefferson:

"The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right, and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to choose the latter."

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STATEMENT MADE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE
MITCHELL SHARP, DURING THE HOUSE OF
COMMONS' DEBATE ON THE MIDDLE EAST,
OCTOBER 16, 1973

Mr. Speaker,

Ten days ago Egyptian and Syrian troops launched heavily armoured attacks across the ceasefire lines of the Suez canal and on the Golan Heights into territories occupied by Israel since 1967, and large-scale warfare replaced an uneasy truce in the Middle East. I speak for the government and I think I speak for all members in this House when I deplore this development. Canadian sympathies go out to the people caught up in this dreadful tragedy. Canadian efforts must be directed to what can be done to stop the fighting and start the process of achieving by peaceful means a just and lasting settlement.

After these ten days of heavy fighting, with great losses in lives, the military outcome is still unclear and indeed the situation on the ground does not seem to have varied greatly from what it was at the resumption of hostilities. Egyptian forces are established in strength on the east bank of the Suez canal but their further advance into Sinai is hotly contested by Israeli forces.

On the Golan Heights, Israel has apparently recovered ground yielded initially to Syrian forces but has met strong resistance in its penetration of Syrian territory. What is clear is that the continuing fighting in the air and at sea, as well as on the ground, the steadily mounting casualties on both sides, the re-supply of destroyed arms, and finally the growing involvement of civilian population altogether give a distressing picture unrelieved by clear hopes of a cessation of hostilities.

At a time like this we look to the United Nations. As the Secretary General stated in his appeal last week:

"I am profoundly concerned with the role of the U.N. in such circumstances. The primary purpose of our organization is the maintenance of international peace and security. If we fail in that role, the central point of the organization's existence is jeopardized."

With the United Nations' Security Council apparently unable to agree on the terms of an appeal for a ceasefire, there is increasing concern that the conflict in the Middle East may have wider implications for the world at large and may indeed endanger the whole process of détente which eastern and western governments had laboriously been working at over the past few years and with which Canada has been very much concerned.

I do not intend to dwell on why the fighting resumed at this particular time. The facts are that the truce has been violently broken, a truce which never evolved as was intended towards a settlement in the intervening years since 1967. Immediately at the end of that conflict a long and difficult negotiation, in which Canada actively participated, took place in the Security Council of the United Nations, with the result that Resolution 242 was adopted unanimously. Every word of that resolution was negotiated and its delicate balance results from a protracted effort at setting out in the clearest possible terms, acceptable to the greatest possible number of states, the main points which have to be dealt with in order that there may be the beginning of a settlement to the Middle Eastern conflict which has been with us for 25 years.

I had thought, Mr. Speaker, that I might read into the record the terms of Resolution 242, but in order to save time I wonder whether it might be agreed that the text be included in Hansard at this point in my speech. (Text attached)

Canada has supported Resolution 242 since its adoption in 1967. Our adherence has been total but strictly limited to the terms of the resolution itself and we have always refused to add anything to it or subtract anything from it or even to interpret it or draw implications from it that were not immediately apparent from the very wording. Since it is the only text in the whole 25 years of recent Middle Eastern history that has met with wide acceptance, we still believe that it constitutes the only suitable and available framework for peace.

This peace must come from a settlement negotiated by all the parties involved in the conflict. There is no other way to devise a just and lasting settlement. One implication that can be drawn from the recent resumption of hostilities is that even the greatest powers cannot impose a settlement but, on the contrary, may be drawn into the conflict on opposing sides and thereby endanger their own attempts at opening a dialogue and developing a better climate for the peaceful resolution of other world problems.

When I say that a negotiated settlement on the basis of Resolution 242 is the only way finally to resolve the conflict, I am fully aware that since 1967 the two sides have never come together on the means of getting down to negotiations or the discussion of a settlement. While the numerous efforts of intermediaries such as Ambassador Jarring on behalf of the United Nations went on, the positions of the two sides never came quite close enough to open the avenue to negotiations and to the implementation of Resolution 242. Therefore, the ceasefire which was to open these avenues finally broke down.

A ceasefire, while undoubtedly necessary at the earliest possible moment, as I said in my statements of October 6 and October 8, will not be enough. A ceasefire should provide the opportunity for the belligerents to discuss such questions as the drawing of border lines or the resettlement of civilian populations displaced by warfare, or indeed any of the other points mentioned in the resolution. Unfortunately, the past 25 years of conflict in the Middle East prove that without the will to make peace on both sides a ceasefire is only a temporary expedient between bouts of war and a period in which the two sides re-arm and prepare for the next round of fighting.

Canadian policy, as I repeated in the House yesterday, begins from the premise that the State of Israel has a right to exist, just like any other state in the world, and the right to exist behind secure and recognized boundaries.

Some of us, Mr. Speaker, have had the privilege of visiting Israel. We had the experience of flying from south to north in a few minutes, seeing the whole of Israel spread out below us. I think we understand the concern for recognized and secure boundaries.

The first states to recognize its boundaries must be its neighbours, those states that share these boundaries with it. It follows that the frontiers of Israel must be negotiated between these neighbour states and Israel in order that they will be accepted by all.

A ceasefire which does not open the way for negotiation in that direction will not deal with the basic problems of the area. We understand the grave difficulties but we plead that a start be made on the road to a negotiated settlement.

I have noted with approval the statement of the nine member countries of the European community which says that "this ceasefire, which would make it possible to spare the peoples affected by the war further tragic ordeals, should at the same time pave the way for true negotiation in an appropriate forum, permitting a settlement of the conflict in accordance with all the provisions of Resolution 242".

As I have said on previous occasions, Canada remains prepared to play its part in a U.N. context if there is a useful role for us. We could envisage a contribution to peacekeeping if desired and required by the parties as well as the continuation of peace observation operations.

These would, of course, be under the authority of the United Nations for we consider, as I said at New York on September 25, that only under such an authority do these operations stand the best chance of success. Canada has participated in the United Nations' Truce Supervision Organization since 1954. While as a result of the current hostilities some of the UNTSO posts in the Suez Canal area have had to be evacuated, I should like to emphasize that UNTSO continues to exist even though it is unable to pursue fully at the present all of its commitments. It is important that it remain intact for future duty.

If the parties to the conflict are prepared to have a peacekeeping force constituted under the authority of the United Nations, we would be prepared to make our contribution. However, I would emphasize that parties to the conflict would first have to agree on the basis of a settlement and terms of reference for such a force for Canada to accept participation in peacekeeping. That is a lesson that our experience, particularly in Indo-China, has taught us. Unless there is basic agreement by the parties involved, the peacekeeping functions cannot be discharged satisfactorily. We must admit that it is one of the distressing aspects of the situation that parties do not appear likely to agree at this time and it is very discouraging that the Security Council has so far been unable itself to agree on a call for a ceasefire or on any other action.

While the war is going on, others have growing responsibilities and can either prolong hostilities or exert great influence in the direction of peace. The major suppliers of arms to both sides obviously can exert a moderating or stimulating influence.

The United States' Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, in his press conference on Friday, October 12, issued a call for moderation on the part of the Soviet Union, especially in the matter of supplying arms. It is unfortunate that the Soviet Union should have continued supplying arms since this appeal was made and of course we now have the situation in which the U.S. in its turn has also felt compelled to do so.

Earlier there were encouraging signs that both these powers were concerned that the conflict should not be widened or prolonged although signs now point in another direction. I hope that the great powers are still concerned to use their restraining influence to help bring about a ceasefire followed by negotiations. Otherwise one cannot envisage anything but a continuing conflict with increasing casualties on both sides, and with the supplier states finding themselves arraigned in opposite camps as in the worst days of the cold war.

It is a bleak prospect indeed that with replenished supplies at their disposal, both sides should continue the artillery duels, the tank battles, the strafing and bombing by aircraft while casualties mount among the civilian population and the theatre of war tends increasingly to engulf cities away from the main field of battle.

There can be no victory in this atmosphere but only losers on all sides. In the long term, since a just and lasting settlement is not possible without the agreement of both sides, it is obvious that the way to a settlement is not through a war of attrition which seems to be developing at this time. The longer this is allowed to continue, the more heavy will be the human losses and the material devastation. Until now, the war has been fought largely in the territories of the Suez Canal and the Golan Heights, and the fighting has not seriously affected the major population centres either in Syria, in Egypt, or in Israel. But who can foresee what a prolongation of the war will bring? Already there are reports that the bombing of military targets has brought losses to the civilian populations. It would be an even more grievous conflict if ground warfare should bring the contending forces within gunfire of the large cities, as is likely to happen unless an end is put to the fight.

At the beginning of hostilities there were relatively few Canadians in the area and I am happy to report that until now there have been no casualties among the Canadian residents or tourists present.

Canadian diplomatic missions in the war area are actively concerned about the safety of Canadian residents and visitors in their areas of responsibility. The embassies maintain records of Canadian residents and endeavour to keep track of visitors to assist in maintaining contact with them in time of trouble. Contact is normally made by telephone, though telephone facilities sometimes become overloaded.

All international airports in the area, with the exception of Damascus and Cairo, remain open for scheduled flights. As a consequence, no build-up of stranded tourists wishing to return home has developed except in Cairo where, on October 10, 1973 approximately 100 Canadian visitors were waiting for transportation from the area.

This number is gradually being reduced, as tourists, with embassy assistance, obtain bookings on ships sailing from Alexandria and on buses to Benhazi. Arrangements are now being completed to enable any Canadian tourists who remain from this number, or residents who wish to do so, to leave on a ship which the Americans have chartered.

Our embassies in Cairo and Tel Aviv have reported that they are not aware of any injuries to Canadians in their area and that all whom they have been able to contact are safe and well. All Canadians who wished to do so have already left Syria.

The present situation in the Security Council does not encourage us to envisage a Canadian initiative at the U.N. at this time. This does not mean that we remain inactive. The views of the Canadian Government about the road to peace in the Middle East as I have outlined them here and in previous statements have been conveyed to all the governments concerned.

I personally made them known to the ambassadors of Arab countries represented in Ottawa and the Ambassador of Israel, as well as the Ambassador of the Soviet Union. The Prime Minister took the opportunity to speak to Chinese leaders and urge them to use their influence for peace. Our ambassadors abroad have been very active conferring with representatives of foreign governments and special instructions have been issued to our ambassadors in the Middle East to present these views to the governments of Israel, Egypt and Syria in particular. We will continue the vigorous activity. At the same time, we are maintaining our long-standing embargo on Canadian arms to parties in the Middle East conflict.

I return to what I said at the beginning about Canadian sympathies for our fellow human beings who are caught up in this tragic situation. We want to see the citizens of Israel and of all the Arab countries live out their lives in peace and security without constant fear of another war. We want the refugees to have a settled home instead of living out their existence in frustration and plotting. We therefore urge with all the emphasis we can that there be a ceasefire as soon as possible followed by immediate steps along the path toward a settlement negotiated by the parties to the conflict which is fair and just to all concerned.



S/RES/242 (1967)
22 November 1967

RESOLUTION 242 (1967)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 1382nd meeting,
on 22 November 1967

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

1. Affirms that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

- (i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
- (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. Affirms further the necessity

- (a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterway in the area;
- (b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;
- (c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
October 22, 1973

STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY
OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL
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SECRÉTAIRE
D'ÉTAT AUX
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EXTÉRIEURES.



Statement by the Secretary of State
for External Affairs the Honourable
Mitchell Sharp in the House of
Commons - October 22, 1973

SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE-EAST

We warmly welcome the call for a cease-fire by the Security Council jointly sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union. We hope that it will be formally accepted by all parties to the conflict and put into effect as quickly as possible. The position taken by the Canadian Government from the beginning of the recent outbreak of fighting was that there should be a cease-fire linked with negotiations as soon as possible. We have also urged the United States and the USSR, as the major suppliers of arms, to use their influence toward the achievement of a cease-fire followed by negotiations on the basis of Resolution 242.

The linkage with negotiations is in our view vitally important. It is not clear at this point what auspices will be considered appropriate by the parties for the negotiations that are envisaged to take place immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire. We have suggested that the machinery of the United Nations should be made use of. However, if there are possibilities of negotiations under the auspices of the great powers, we would certainly not wish to oppose this or any other method of bringing the parties together.

Since the cease-fire is to take place in the positions that the forces now occupy, there will likely be a useful role for UNTSO in helping to implement the cease-fire. It may be that UNTSO will need to be expanded to improve its capability for this purpose. The Canadian Government would look sympathetically at any request from the Secretary-General for additional Canadian officers for UNTSO.

If the process of negotiations does get under way, and we emphasize most strongly that it must, then there may be a need for some peacekeeping force in addition to the cease-fire observation function discharged by UNTSO. As I have said before, we are prepared to consider participation in such a force if we are requested by the parties concerned and if we are satisfied we can play a useful role. This could be a very different force from UNEF (United Nations Emergency Force).

In 1956, one of the objectives was to remove the danger of a confrontation between great powers. This time, fortunately, the two super-powers have come together on a joint proposal for a cease-fire and it may be, therefore, that in this encouraging climate of détente there may be a place in the peacekeeping operation for forces supplied by the great powers. We will follow closely developments at the United Nations and consult with other governments on the situation.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
OCTOBER 24, 1973



STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY
OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS.

SECRÉTAIRE
D'ÉTAT AUX
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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
ON THE OCCASION OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT
INFORMATION DAY, OCTOBER 24, 1973



On October the 24th Canada, along with 135 other countries, will observe United Nations' Day, as a reaffirmation of our support for the United Nations' concept.

Beginning this year, however, the day will also be known, by unanimous decision of the General Assembly, as World Development Information Day.

It is perhaps significant that the Assembly did not call it simply World Development Day, but World Development Information Day. It is in the words of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, the French Minister of Finance, who suggested that the day be observed, "not an appeal for funds" but "the time, once a year, to reflect upon and inform (ourselves) about the vast dimensions of the development problem".

We should have little trouble in grasping those dimensions. Seldom have we been more conscious of our global interdependence. Decisions and events in far corners of the globe are having a direct effect on our cost of living and our daily lives.

Our own concerns with price stability, and with assuring adequate supplies of essential commodities make us realize the plight of the low-income countries, which are so much less self-reliant than we are. The term "low-income countries" must be taken literally. In 21 of them the average income per person is less than \$100 -- that is per year, not per month! In another 50 countries it is less than \$500.

Some 90 percent of the people (nearly two billion human beings) in rural areas of the developing world are still without medical care. Of every 100 newborn children in these countries, 40 will never reach the age of six. Another 40 risk growing up crippled or retarded -- or both. Only three out of the 100 will get enough education to make them fully productive citizens.

The almost chronic international economic ills that beset our world and affect our very livelihood are partly caused by the fact that one-third of the world's population commands two-thirds of its wealth; the other two-thirds of the people must do with what is left.

A century ago such inequities existed within many industrialized nations, including Canada, and many still persist, but we have largely succeeded in overcoming the worst inequalities at home. The same means that raised our own living standards -- economic organization, enlightened social policies, and technology -- can also overcome the soul-destroying poverty in the low-income countries of Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America.

They can't do it alone, and we can't do it alone. It can only be done by co-operative action, helping the developing countries to put their own assets to work.

The United Nations is deeply involved in this challenge, and so is Canada. I hope all Canadians will use October 24, World Development Information Day, as a take-off point to inform themselves of the realities of international development.

POUR DIFFUSION IMMEDIATE
LE 25 OCTOBRE 1973



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SECRETARY
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MESSAGE TO SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE
UNITED NATIONS, MR. KURT WALDHEIM,
FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE
MITCHELL SHARP, ON THE OCCASION OF
UNITED NATIONS' DAY, OCTOBER 24, 1973

MESSAGE ADRESSE A M. KURT WALDHEIM,
SECRETAIRE GENERAL DES NATIONS-UNIES
DE LA PART DE L'HONORABLE MITCHELL
SHARP, SECRETAIRE D'ETAT AUX AFFAIRES
EXTERIEURES, A L'OCCASION DE LA JOURNEE
DES NATIONS-UNIES, LE 24 OCTOBRE 1973

"On behalf of the Government and people of Canada, I wish to convey to you and all the staff members of the United Nations and its affiliated organizations, our warmest wishes on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Events in the Middle East have once again focussed world attention on the responsibilities of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. In these challenging circumstances and in the many other international situations with which the United Nations is constantly concerned, we continue to appreciate the untiring and dedicated efforts of all those engaged in the service of the organization.

I would also observe that this day marks the first World Development Information Day. I trust that the informational activities associated with the second United Nations' development decade will go far in increasing public knowledge in this vital area.

An increasingly universal United Nations, now an organization of 135 sovereign states, offers an opportunity to those who genuinely wish to serve the best interests of all men. On the occasion of United Nations Day 1973, Mr. Secretary-General, I am pleased to re-affirm the support of the Canadian Government and people for the United Nations and its goals in the service of humanity. Mitchell Sharp"

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"Au nom du gouvernement et du peuple canadiens, je tiens à vous exprimer ainsi qu'à tous les membres du personnel des Nations-Unies et de ses organismes affiliés nos vœux les meilleurs à l'occasion du 28e anniversaire de la création de l'Organisation des Nations-Unies.

Les événements qui se passent au Moyen-Orient ont de nouveau attiré l'attention mondiale sur les responsabilités des Nations-Unies pour le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité dans le monde. Au cours de ces circonstances particulières de défis, comme dans plusieurs autres situations internationales auxquelles les Nations-Unies se sont intéressées, nous continuons d'apprécier les efforts constants et infaillibles de tous ceux qui sont au service de l'Organisation des Nations-Unies.

Je note également que ce jour marque la première journée mondiale d'information sur le développement et je souhaite que les activités d'information reliées à la deuxième décennie des Nations-Unies pour le développement accroîtront de façon sensible les connaissances du public dans ce secteur vital.

Le champ d'action des Nations-Unies ne cesse de s'élargir; l'Organisation compte maintenant 135 états souverains et offre une occasion à ceux qui désirent réellement servir les meilleurs intérêts de l'humanité. M. le Secrétaire général, je suis heureux, à l'occasion de la Journée des Nations-Unies de 1973, de réaffirmer l'appui du gouvernement et du peuple canadiens à l'endroit de l'Organisation des Nations-Unies et de la réalisation de ses objectifs au service de l'humanité. Mitchell Sharp"

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
OCTOBER 26, 1973

STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY
OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS.

SECRÉTAIRE
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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE
MITCHELL SHARP, OCTOBER 26, 1973

"CHILE"

During the past few weeks allegations have been made that Canada had contributed in some manner to the economic difficulties of Chile by cutting off aid or credits to that country during the period of the government of the late President Allende. Such allegations are not born out by a review of the Canadian programme in Chile.

The Government of Canada does not have, and never has had, government-to-government loans outstanding with Chile. However, the Export Development Corporation (EDC), a crown corporation which operates on a commercial basis and makes its decisions on economic and commercial criteria, did continue to finance or to insure Canadian exports to Chile following the election of the Allende government in 1970. As the economic situation in Chile deteriorated during the period that followed, the Export Development Corporation, while continuing to finance and insure Canadian exports to that country, reviewed, on a case by case basis, all such enquiries and requests for its services. The result was that, because of the need to defer and reschedule existing debt, no medium term insurance cover was provided during this period, but short term insurance cover continued to be provided for exporters for whom Chile was a traditional market. On this selective basis, and at a time when most other countries were reluctant to extend further credits to Chile a loan of \$5 million was approved by the EDC in April 1973 for the purchase by Chile of Canadian aircraft and telecommunications equipment. This activity was undertaken against the background of a rapidly deteriorating balance of payments situation and the evident inability of Chile to repay external debts incurred earlier. This background led a number of Canadian chartered banks to suspend, for a period, short term credit to Chile, but this was neither on the instigation nor the advice of this government. Meanwhile, Canada played an important part, along with a number of other nations, in negotiations for the rescheduling of the outstanding debt owed by Chile to her creditors in 1971 and 1972, in order to assist the country in alleviating her external financial difficulties. Canada has played a similarly active role in negotiations earlier this year to provide debt relief to Chile for 1973 and 1974.

In addition, a Chilean request to a consortium of Canadian banks for an additional loan of \$3.5 million, of which \$2 million would be guaranteed by the Export Development Corporation, was under negotiation with the Allende government (and had been approved by the EDC) since early this year. Although the offer of a \$3.5 million loan and the \$2 million guarantee had been accepted by the Allende government, the new régime has not yet re-confirmed this agreement.

Canada also had underway, at the time the Allende government took office in 1970, two projects in the fields of telecommunications and education administreed by the Inter-American Development Bank involving a commitment of \$8.6 million. Disbursements for these projects were as follows:

1968-69	\$ 152,490
1969-70	\$ 537,632
1970-71	\$2,356,659
1971-72	\$ 741,379
1972-73 (estimated)	\$2,069,900

In September 1972, a bilateral technical assistance project, involving an expenditure of \$87,000 in the fields of mining and metallurgy, was approved by CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) and initiated.

A number of Canadian non-governmental organizations also carried out private projects which are partially financed by CIDA. In 1972-73 these projects represented about \$375,000.

In addition, Canadian contributions to a number of multilateral institutions, including the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), were made available to Chile during the period of the Allende government.

With regard to trade, Canada's exports to Chile decreased from \$22.8 million in 1969 to \$10.1 million in 1972 but rose significantly to \$13.2 million for the first six months of 1973. Canada's imports from Chile have increased, if somewhat unsteadily, during the same period from \$3.3 million in 1969, \$2.8 million in 1970, \$9.3 million in 1971, \$6.5 million in 1972, to \$19.6 million in the first six months of 1973.

I might also add that during the period of the Allende government in Chile my Department arranged for visits to Canada of Chilean journalists and maintained an on-going yearly programme of gifts of books to the University of Chile. The Department also provided this year, in co-operation with the Canada Council, a special donation of Canadian books, in English and French, for distribution by our Embassy to various educational and cultural institutions in Chile.

It will be clear from the above facts that, throughout the period of the Allende government, Canada's commercial, economic and cultural relations with Chile were maintained at previous levels, and in some areas, were even increased.

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Statement by the Head of the Canadian
Delegation, Mr. G.K. Grande, Vienna -
October 30, 1973

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

Canada has for several years been an active proponent of the negotiations upon which we are about to embark. It is therefore with a deep sense of satisfaction that we join the nations gathered here for these most important discussions.

History, a shared civilization, and common ancestry constitute enduring bonds between Canadians and the peoples of Europe. Successive Canadian Governments have reflected the wishes and sentiments of the Canadian people in the interest which they have displayed in the affairs of Europe, and in particular, in the wellbeing, security and peace of all European countries.

Canada unequivocally demonstrated its lasting concern for Europe in two world wars and the reconstruction enterprises which followed them. It is now no less determined to play an active and constructive role in the consolidation of peace in Europe and in current efforts to contribute to East-West détente.

The achievement of real détente has been, and will continue to be, a slow process, putting to the test the will of many states to achieve increased cooperation and a relaxation of tensions among themselves. Significant progress has already been made and a number of major steps already taken, the most recent of these being the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which commenced in Helsinki last July. The second phase of the CSCE now taking place in Geneva should give form and content to the shared aspirations endorsed by the Helsinki Conference.

The negotiations on mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures will constitute a real test of the willingness of the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries to proceed further in the direction of lasting détente. There is no doubt that these negotiations will pose very serious problems for all participating countries, since they concern concrete measures which relate directly to the security interests of the two alliances and their member states. However the understanding achieved during the exploratory talks held here earlier this year permits us to approach these negotiations confident that progress is possible.

The primary objective of the MBFR negotiations should be to lessen military confrontation in Central Europe by means of equitable reductions and limitations in the size of the forces present in central Europe, insofar as this can be attained without diminishing the security of the states party to the negotiations, or indeed of any other states. If this objective is to be reached, due account must be taken in these negotiations of the nature and posture of the forces involved on both sides. Moreover it is obvious that the mutual confidence so essential to such delicate negotiations can only be adversely affected by measures taken by any party to increase the size of its forces in central Europe as a prelude to our deliberations here.

The Canadian Government considers that to be consistent with the ultimate goal of fostering détente in East-West relations, agreements on the reduction of forces in central Europe must have the full confidence of all the countries involved. They must include provisions designed to satisfy all concerned that they will be observed. They should therefore provide for appropriate collateral measures designed to avoid the risk of their possible violation or circumvention.

The Canadian Government is very conscious of both the problems and opportunities which lie ahead as we start these discussions. On the one hand, for the countries of Europe, these negotiations will give rise to fundamental questions related to national security; Canada shares these concerns since it regards its security as inseparable from that of Europe. On the other hand, the MBFR negotiations hold the prospect of a more stable peace and increased mutual cooperation for the European countries with which Canada enjoys close and expanding political, economic and cultural relations.

The Canadian delegation will play its full part in what it hopes will be a common effort to meet the challenge and to take advantage of the opportunities presented by these negotiations. We are optimistic, but we will also be realistic. We are hopeful, but we also intend to be vigilant. We will assess the intentions of other parties to the negotiations not only by their words here, but also by their deeds elsewhere.

The agreement of the Austrian authorities to host this important conference in Vienna and to make available the necessary facilities and services is deeply appreciated by the Canadian Government. On its behalf I would like to join all my colleagues in thanking the Austrian Government for its full cooperation.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
October 30, 1973

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Statement by the Secretary of State
for External Affairs the Honourable
Mitchell Sharp in the House of
Commons - October 30, 1973

Canadian Participation in the United
Nations Emergency Force in the
Middle-East

The Security Council of the United Nations demanded on October 25 by Resolution 340 that an immediate and complete ceasefire be observed in the Middle East and that the parties return to the positions they held on October 22 when an earlier Security Council resolution had first called for a ceasefire. In the resolution of October 25 the Council decided to set up immediately, under its authority, a United Nations Emergency Force.

Canada was asked to participate in this Force by a Note from the Secretary-General dated October 27 and in a further note of October 29 the Secretary-General confirmed that this request was acceptable to both sides to the conflict.

The Government gave this request the most serious and urgent consideration and toward this end a team of officials from the Departments of External Affairs and National Defence joined the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations to consult with officials of the United Nations Secretariat about the precise nature of the contribution requested from Canada.

According to the report of the Secretary-General, which was adopted by the Security Council on October 26, it is intended that this Force be of a temporary nature to assist in facilitating conditions under which negotiations towards a settlement can take place. The Force is to supervise the implementation of the ceasefire and the return of the parties to their October 22 positions. It will use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of the fighting. This Force is an impartial peacekeeping force composed of formed military units which will be interposed between the parties: it will thus operate on the assumption that the parties to the conflict are taking all necessary steps to comply with the relevant decisions of the Security Council. This Force will be under the command of the United Nations, vested in the Secretary-General and under the authority of the Security Council. The command in the field will be exercised by a Force Commander appointed by the Secretary-General and responsible to him. The Force is to be of a defensive character only and is not to use force except in self-defence.

The Force at full strength will probably number on the order of 7,000 men. Aside from Canada, Austria, Finland, Sweden and Ireland have been requested to provide troops and the first contingents of Austrians, Finns and Swedes arrived in Cairo from Cyprus on October 26. The only areas of operations contemplated at this time are the east and west banks of the Suez canal system from Port Said through Ismailia to Suez. In the fulfillment of its tasks the Force will have the co-operation of the military observers of UNTSO.

On October 27 Canada was asked by the Secretary-General to provide the logistic component of the Force including in particular air support, transport, communications, ordnance and related logistic facilities. The Secretary-General considers it vital to the efficient and effective operation of the Force that Canada provide the logistic support.

Canada has consistently stressed a number of conditions for its participation in peacekeeping operations and observer missions. A basic condition is met by the fact that the United Nations will be the continuing political authority to which the Force reports. Moreover the Secretary-General will make his reports public. He has listed the following essential conditions for the Force. It must

- a) have the full confidence and backing of the Security Council,
- b) operate with the full co-operation of the parties concerned,
- c) function as an integrated and efficient military unit,
- d) enjoy freedom of movement and communication and other facilities that are necessary for the performance of its functions, and
- e) be granted all relevant privileges and immunities provided for by the UN convention on privileges and immunities.

Given these conditions which lead us to hope the Force should be an effective one and able to contribute to a climate in which negotiations between the parties can take place, the Canadian Government has decided to inform the United Nations Secretary-General, in response to his request, that the Canadian Government has agreed to participate in the United Nations Emergency Force for the Middle East for the initial six month period described in the Secretary-General's report. I am further informing the Secretary-General that the Canadian contribution will consist of a logistics component in accordance with the Secretary-General's request and with the conclusions reached after discussions of details of this contribution between Canadian and U.N. officials. Finally, I am informing the Secretary-General that we intend to conclude with him financial and other arrangements to regulate Canadian participation and that the treatment accorded Canada should be no less favourable than that accorded to other contributing countries.

I will be placing on the order paper a resolution seeking the approval of Parliament for the Government's decision to participate in the UNEF.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
November 2, 1973

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY



STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY
OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL
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Statement made by the Secretary of
State for External Affairs, the
Honourable Mitchell Sharp to the
Canadian Institute of International
Affairs Conference on

CANADA AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Delivered by Mr. Pierre De Bané,
Parliamentary Secretary.

Mr. Chairman,

May I begin by congratulating the CIIA for its initiative and imagination in sponsoring this Conference on Canada and the European Community. The CIIA and the Government do not always speak with one voice on foreign policy -- surprising as that may be considering the perceptiveness of so many of the CIIA members. But we certainly agree on the fundamental importance of this subject for Canada now. We are indebted to the CIIA for the focus which it is giving to the European Community -- and for the timeliness of this Conference which coincides so neatly and usefully with the official visits to Ottawa of Sir Christopher Soames

and his delegation of the European parliamentarians. It is my hope that exchanges of this nature will be seen in a wide context -- as a part of that dialogue between Canada and the Community which was called for in the communiqué following the European Community summit meeting last October.

For reasons related as much to the evolution of the European Community itself as to immediate Canadian interests, the Conference is devoting its attention, in large part, to economic issues -- to questions of trade, industry, agriculture and energy. At the same time, and at the risk of stating the obvious, it is necessary to recall that Canada's relations with Europe have never been, nor are exclusively -- or even primarily based on trade. History, common values, for many of us, common European origins and

the sentiment deriving from these factors are the source of continuing and potent links with Western Europe.

The relationship, then, is strong and firmly

rooted. But it is not static. Sir Christopher Soames and many of you will remember that Canada's approach to the development of the European Community was not always enthusiastic. But as the Community itself developed -- as its institutions and its outlook expanded, there has been a responsive evolution in the Canadian attitude toward the Community.

The Canadian attitude has also been shaped by recognition of the world stature of the European Community. The increasing cohesion of the nine is not simply a matter of new institutional arrangements in Europe. It also represents a growth of real power -- self confidence and influence which has significantly altered the world balance of power.

The Canadian reaction to these developments was expressed by Prime Minister Trudeau in the message he sent to Prime Minister Heath on the occasion of British accession to the European Community. The message read in part:

"I should like to congratulate you and your European partners on this splendid example of cooperation.
.../4

Canadians admire the audacity of concept of the new Community and the skilfulness with which it has been designed. We have confidence that the economic strengths which will flow from it will be employed in a fashion of benefit, not just to the partners, but to all members of the international community. A cooperating, prospering Europe has much to offer to the world in friendship, in trade, in economic assistance, and in example."

If that is our basic philosophical approach to the Community, there is also a very practical foundation to our desire for closer and broader relations. One such foundation is, very simply, statistics. Total trade between Canada and the enlarged Community amounted in 1972 to some 4.6 billion dollars. Canadian exports to the Community in 1972 were some 2.5 billion dollars. And I understand that for the first six months in 1973 they show an increase of approximately 14%. This

makes the European Community, by a wide margin, the second largest of our trading partners -- and we are confident that the volume of trade between Canada and the Community will continue to grow. The figures speak for themselves. To Canada, a country heavily dependent on international trade, mutually beneficial dynamic relations with the European Community are vital.

In another very practical way, an expanding relationship with Europe is an essential feature of one of the governments' most fundamental policies. This is the policy to diversify -- to reduce the vulnerability of the Canadian economy to one continental market -- to maintain our freedom of action in the international scene -- and equally important to preserve and nourish our individuality.

In this perspective the importance of an alternative and readily accessible major market which combines economic, cultural, historical and linguistic links is very clear.

At the same time, let me be equally clear in stating that we were not thinking in terms of substituting Europe for the United States as a trading partner. We are North Americans and the United States, of course, remains our most important partner.

But the mere acknowledgement of this fact does not lead us to accept the constraints of any so-called continental determinism. We believe we can multiply our exchanges with other countries, particularly in Europe, with a view to promoting the cultural life and economic prosperity of Canadians without loosening in the process our vigorous ties with our Southern neighbours.

Canadian interest in the enlargement of the European Community and our parallel goal of expanding relations with the Community have taken a number of forms. - At the ministerial level there have been visits by both myself and by Ministers of Industry, Trade and Commerce to Brussels and to other capitals of the member states of the Community. We have attempted, and I think with some success, to establish in the minds of the Community and of its individual members, the distinctive character of our position.

These ministerial visits are complemented by increasingly frequent and regular contacts with the Commission at the senior official level and by parliamentary exchanges. I am very pleased that, Sir Christopher is accompanied by a number of senior officials of the Commission who are holding bilateral official discussions with the Canadian side.

These ongoing exchanges mark a further development in the dialogue between the Community and Canada.

Another important development in the maturing of our relations with the Community has been the appointment to Brussels of a separate Ambassador as head of our mission to the European Communities. I hope it will not be long before this is reciprocated by the opening of a representation by the Commission in Ottawa.

In terms of trade and economic relations we see a continual expansion of our relations with the European Community. We are working closely with the Community in international fora -- particularly on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade -- towards an even greater liberalization of world trading conditions. Both my colleague the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce and I have been encouraged by the constructive attitude which the European Community has been taking in the

preparations for the forthcoming Multilateral Trade Negotiations. This positive spirit is a good augury for future Community dealings with the rest of the world.

But there is an aspect of the Community's relations with the world which causes us some concern. This relates to the increasing number of preferential arrangements which the Community has, or is negotiating with a number of countries, in particular those which were formerly colonies of its member states, which discriminate against third countries, including Canada. We continue to believe that these arrangements require further attention.

However, I would not wish to exaggerate their importance. There are many other indications that the Community is and intends to become an increasingly responsive, and outward looking participant in world affairs.

Canadian interest in the attitude which the Community will take to its responsibilities to the world community is, of course, natural. Canada, perhaps more than any of the other industrialized nations, is dependent on an increasingly free and open world order, particularly in the economic and trade spheres. It is clear that we have "a vested interest" in the increasing liberalization of conditions of trade throughout the world. It is highly important to us that bloc confrontations, about which there has been some recent concern, be avoided. The importance of a generally outward looking world view from the European Community cannot be underestimated. In any confrontation between economic giants such as the enlarged Community, the United States and Japan, we would all stand to lose -- Canada more than most.

Our reasons for seeking to maintain and broaden our dialogue with the Community are clear -- and in our terms imperative. Our objective has been to seek with the Community a long-term agreement which would cover the broad range of Canadian/European Community relations and which would complement existing trade arrangements such as those under the aegis of GATT. Such an agreement, which would provide for regular consultations, might range much more widely to cover fields such as energy, natural resources, investment, industrial co-operation and environment. We realize that the establishment of such a long-term arrangement may not be immediately realizable. Nevertheless, we continue to seek to establish a basis upon which such an arrangement can ultimately be made.

Jusqu'à présent j'ai parlé surtout de l'aspect économique de la Communauté européenne. Le reste du monde et la Communauté européenne elle-même sont en fait très préoccupés par le rôle politique de la Communauté; la motivation politique qui est tout autant à l'origine de la genèse du Traité de Rome que le facteur économique.

La question est de savoir si l'évolution de la Communauté européenne qui n'a pas une vocation exclusivement économique favorisera ou au contraire gênera les efforts du Canada en vue de réduire sa vulnérabilité vis-à-vis les Etats Unis.

Nous nous rendons compte des progrès accomplis par la Communauté dans le domaine de l'unification politique. Des étapes significatives ont été franchies à cet égard au cours des quatre dernières années. Les réunions des Ministres des neuf et des Directeurs généraux des ministères des

Affaires étrangères se sont multipliées. La déclaration de la Conférence des Chefs d'Etat ou du Gouvernement du 19-21 octobre 1972 a signifié à qui veut l'entendre la volonté politique des neuf que l'Europe fasse entendre sa voix dans les affaires mondiales et affirme ses propres conceptions dans les rapports internationaux.

Je vous dirai sans ambages que la réaction du Canada vis-à-vis l'unification politique de la Communauté européenne ne diffère en rien de celle que nous avons eue à l'égard de l'intégration économique. Il revient au neuf de prendre leurs décisions en ces domaines. Le Canada ne peut que voir d'un bon oeil une évolution dont le terme recherché est une Europe forte, unie et amie. De même que nous souhaitons voir la Communauté européenne pratiquer des politiques économiques

libérales et sensibles aux intérêts des pays tiers, il y va de l'intérêt des Européens et des Canadiens qu'il en soit de même dans le domaine politique.

Une concertation politique à neuf qui ne serait pas ouverte aux problèmes et aux aspirations de ses alliés les plus proches serait à la longue stérile et boiteuse.

Il me semble que la solution à tous ces problèmes dépend dans une large mesure de la perception claire que nous aurons de l'interdépendance de nos pays.

The political role of the Community, particularly in relation to North America, has been stimulated by the American initiative of a "Year of Europe". It seems to me that this initiative was designed to serve a number of useful and timely purposes -- to redefine and revitalize

the Atlantic relationship and as a re-affirmation of an outward looking American foreign policy. It was also, I believe, a means by which one great power acknowledged the coming of age of another great power.

Although there were some mixed reactions in Europe to the initiative, I believe that the nine were very pleased to have demonstrated to the world and to themselves their capacity to agree on a collective response to the "Year of Europe" message. Certainly, this was the impression that several foreign Ministers of the nine gave me when I spoke to them in New York in September.

There were, of course, some questions about the implications of the "Year of Europe". One of the first questions many of us asked about the Year of Europe was -- how would the interests

of the industrialized democracies, as a whole, fit this concept. Would it involve a tri-polar system -- the United States, Europe and Japan? We, of course, remain concerned not to find ourselves polarized around any of the main power centres. That is very much a part of what our policy of diversification is all about.

Nevertheless, outside this country, I have sometimes found an assumption that Canada should fall naturally and inevitably into the U.S. orbit. This is perhaps understandable, but it is unacceptable to Canadians. It is inconsistent with our conception both of what Canada is and what our interdependent world should be. It runs against the grain of post-war Canadian efforts to build an open and liberal world trading system. It is also contrary to the Canadian Government's

basic policy of a relationship "distinct from but in harmony with" the United States.

North America is not a monolithic whole - economically or politically. Nor do I think it would be in the interest of Europe to deal with a single North American colossus.

Canada's relationship with Europe is not the same as the United States relationship with Europe. There are political, economic, cultural and linguistic elements in our relationship with Europe which are unique.

Perhaps in relative terms our relationship is more important to us than the United States relationship with Europe is to the Americans. Forty-two percent of our immigration continues to come from Europe. Our national fabric is made up of distinctive ethnic groups - many of them European. These have not been assimilated into a Canadian

homogeneity. They preserve and value their links with Europe as they do their Canadian nationality.

Canada's security is indivisible from that of Europe. That is why we are members of NATO. We do not have troops in Europe solely for the purpose of defending Europe, but to defend Canadians.

However, by focussing on the need to revitalize and redefine the Atlantic Community the Year of Europe initiative has quickened the pace of development of Community policy toward the rest of the world. This heightened Atlantic dialogue is leading Canada, the Community and the United States into a greater and deeper exploration of our shared problems and aspirations. The pursuit of this dialogue reaches beyond the economic sphere to encompass all aspects of international relations. I believe that a serious and comprehensive examination of the Atlantic

Community, an effort to make the Atlantic relationship more responsive to current realities, can be beneficial to all concerned.

In this context the suggestion of a Canada/European Community declaration is attractive. But the determining factor will be substance -- not form. Canada is seeking opportunities to develop a dynamic, meaningful and distinctive long-term relationship with the European Community. If it is clear that such a declaration can contribute to this objective we will be ready to participate in its elaboration.

With or without a declaration the future evolution of the Community's trans Atlantic relationship will be of critical interest to Canada. I am confident that common interests and common sense will prevail.

STATEMENT DISCOURS



Statement made by the Secretary of
State for External Affairs, the
Honourable Mitchell Sharp, on
UNEF

On November 1 I informed the House that it was my intention to meet with the Secretary General of the United Nations in New York the following day to discuss with him the composition of the Emergency Force for service in the Middle East. My discussions with the Secretary General were useful and served to clarify some of the outstanding issues. The same evening agreement was reached in the Security Council authorizing the Secretary General to consult with potential contributors including Canada and Poland who were to provide contingents which would have particular responsibility for the provision of logistic support. On November 5 following my return from the United Nations I tabled in the House the text of the Security Council agreement along with the texts of notes exchanged between the Secretary General and our Ambassador to the United Nations.

2. Our Ambassador has since been holding discussions with the Secretary General, at Mr. Waldheim's request, concerning the organization and composition of the logistics element of the United Nations Emergency Force. Polish representatives have also participated in these more detailed discussions. Meanwhile, evaluation teams were dispatched to Cairo to assess the requirement on the ground.

3. In the light of the discussions to date, I wish to inform the House that agreement has been reached on the first phase of the deployment of the Canadian contingent. A signals unit which will provide communications for the United Nations Emergency Force will begin its departure from Canada within the next few days. We understand the Poles will be despatching an engineer unit as the first element in their contribution. In the meantime, the Secretary General is awaiting the final reports of the evaluation teams and continuing his discussions with Canadian and Polish representatives to determine the next stages of the logistics deployment.

4. As Canada will shortly be dispatching a signals unit to the Middle East, I propose to bring forward in the House on Tuesday, November 12, the resolution seeking the approval of Parliament for the Government's decision to participate in the UNEF.

STATEMENT DISCOURS



Statement by the Secretary of State
for External Affairs, the Honourable
Mitchell Sharp in the House of Commons
-November 14, 1973-

CANADIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED
NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE FOR THE
MIDDLE-EAST

An uneasy ceasefire now prevails in the Middle Eastern battlefield which for 15 days, from October 6 to October 22, and again until October 26, witnessed the most furious and bloody fighting in that beleaguered area in modern times. The most sophisticated and destructive equipment was unleashed in the Sinai desert and the Golan plateau. The biggest tank battles since world war II raged on the ground, while dozens of aircraft were struck down from the skies every day, and in the surrounding waters several naval encounters took place near the harbours of the eastern Mediterranean. Peaceful navigation and trade were interrupted to the point where even some of the government's of that oil rich region were forced to ration gasoline. Casualties mounted rapidly, and even now we are uncertain as to their extent, although the total must be unbearably high, especially in relation to the results achieved.

The mounting fury of the fight was possibly the only reason why it so abruptly ceased. The great powers who were supplying arms in increasing quantity to each side fortunately realized that they were being drawn into a dangerous confrontation, with the Soviet Union talking of unilateral intervention on the scene, while the United States placed its own forces on an increased state of alert. It was at this crucial stage that the United Nations Security Council agreed to the establishment and dispatch of an emergency force to supervise a ceasefire and separate efforts to prevent a recurrence of the fighting.

Given the circumstances as I have just recalled them, there could be no doubt in anyone's mind that never had an emergency measures of this nature been so evidently and urgently necessary. While Canada did not seek participation in the emergency force, we were determined that once we were invited it would be a success, and I am sure this is a point of view that would be supported by all parties in the House. We were asked at an early stage by the Secretary General of the United Nations to contribute in a vitally important role. Just two and a half hours ago the Secretary General of the United Nations was on the telephone to me urging the importance of Canada's participation and urging our participation in certain of these vital functions upon which the whole of UNEF depends.

After due consideration, the government decided to accept the request and communicated this decision to parliament. In accordance with the practice followed in the past when a Canadian contingent has been contributed to a peacekeeping force, as opposed to the sending of peace observers, we are asking parliament to approve the government's decision. Leaders of all parties represented here indicated, in response to my announcement of October 30, that they supported a Canadian contribution to peacekeeping under the United Nations in the Middle East if it appeared there was a useful role for us to play. Spokesmen for all parties took the same view as I did, that no one could say no to such a request.

The concept of peacekeeping or peace observation forces under the United Nations, which owes so much of its development to a great Canadian, our former prime minister and a member of this House, the Right Hon. Lester B. Pearson, is firmly supported by this government, as it has been by previous Canadian governments of all political stripes. We did not, however, accept the call to join a new UNEF without careful consideration. Experience over the years, some of it rather disappointing, has led us to look for certain criteria that, in our judgment, should be met if a peacekeeping operation is to be effective and if Canadian participation in it is to be worthwhile. We have no illusions that in this imperfect world the criteria for an ideal

peacekeeping operation will ever be met in full. These criteria must, however, be constantly reiterated and promoted if peacekeeping is to be made a more effective instrument rather than a source of disillusionment to a world community hungry for peace.

The criteria Canada seeks to apply when considering participation in a peacekeeping operation include certain points of a political nature, as well as others of a more technical kind. A fundamental point is the existence of a threat to international peace and security. There is no doubt of that in this case. Ideally, peacekeeping should be directly linked to agreement on a political settlement among the parties to the conflict. At least there should be reasonable expectations that the parties will negotiate a settlement. The peacekeeping force must be responsible to a political authority and preferably that authority should be the United Nations. The sponsoring authority should receive reports and have adequate power to supervise the mandate of the force. The parties to the conflict must accept the peacekeeping force and Canadian participation in it must be acceptable to all concerned. Further considerations are that the peacekeeping force must have a clear mandate, including such things as freedom of movement, and that there must be an agreed and equitable method of financing the operation.

Some of these criteria were not met when we participated in the International Commission in Viet Nam, or in Cyprus in 1964, or in the UNEF of 1956. After our departure from Viet Nam, I made it clear that certain features of the operation made it impossible for the commission to operate effectively. One major impediment was the absence of a political authority to which it could report.

The United Nations may not be the only possible sponsoring body, but we have not yet found better auspices under which to work at peacekeeping. It is therefore a matter of satisfaction that in the Middle Eastern situation the emergency force should be put under the authority of the UN. To be precise, it is under the command of the United Nations, vested in the Secretary General, and under the authority of the Security Council.

In 1964, the House debated the dispatch of a Canadian contingent to Cyprus under great pressure of time and in circumstances which did not allow for the application of rigorous conditions. The island was on the brink of civil war with intervention threatened from neighbouring countries, and peacekeeping troops had to be sent as quickly as possible. For nine years, the United Nations force in Cyprus has kept conflict from breaking out and it must therefore be counted, to that extent, as a success. It has not, however, led to a settlement of the underlying problems. The absence of a direct link between a peacekeeping force and a negotiated settlement is a weakness, perhaps an unavoidable one, in the Cyprus situation.

Another weakness of the Cyprus peacekeeping operation is the absence of equitable financial arrangements. This time we are determined that the treatment accorded Canada should be equitable to that accorded to other contributing countries. The Secretary General has stated that his preliminary estimates of the United Nations own direct costs for UNEF, based upon past experience and practice, are \$30 million for the six month period authorized by the Security Council. These costs are to be considered expenses of the United Nations organization and are to be borne by the members of the United

Nations as apportioned by the General Assembly, presumably in about the same proportions as each country's share in the United Nations annual budget. Canada's share of that budget is currently 3.08 per cent. I might point out to the House that even if we did not participate in this peacekeeping operation we would of course still pay our share of the peacekeeping costs.

It is worth recalling that Canadians have been participating for many years in the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in the Middle East, and that UNTSO continues to exist and to perform a useful role on the ceasefire lines. Our previous experience in the Middle East in 1956, which was the first major United Nations venture in peacekeeping, is naturally very much in our minds at this time. Sadly, we seem to be back where we were 17 years ago. In fact the request to Canada to participate in the 1973 UNEF is due in great part to the fact that we have special skills and experience, not only in peacekeeping generally but in peacekeeping in the Middle East, and in the role that is now assigned to our contingent. I would remind the right hon. member for Prince Albert (Mr. Diefenbaker) that this was the role that was assigned to us at that particular time.

The original request from the Secretary General for Canadian participation on October 27 was in terms of Canada supplying the logistic component of the force. That role has been assigned to us precisely because of the effective way in which Canada discharged it from 1956 to 1967, and the skills that our troops demonstrated in doing their job. Two aspects of our previous experience are relevant to the new task assigned to Canada in the same area. First, the way in which UNEF had to terminate its peacekeeping function in 1967 and evacuate the Middle East gave rise to a great deal of discussion, both at the United Nations and in Canada. From that unhappy episode certain lessons have been drawn.

There is no point in participating in a peacekeeping operation unless our participation is acceptable to all, and especially to the sovereign state upon whose soil the force is to be deployed. I can assure the House that we did not accept this task until the Secretary General had given us formal assurance that the presence of a Canadian contingent would be acceptable to all parties, and especially to Egypt, since UNEF will be deployed on Egyptian territory. In addition, I confirmed the Egyptian agreement personally with the Foreign Minister of Egypt when I met him a few days ago in Washington.

Part of the difficulty encountered with the original UNEF in 1956 was that it did not come under the authority of the Security Council and did not have the unqualified backing of the great powers. Nor was the mandate of the force so clearly set out and accepted by the parties concerned. The first UNEF in the Middle East was a brilliant improvisation that brought the international community back from the edge of disaster but could not ensure peace. This time the superpowers jointly proposed a peacekeeping force, and all members of the Security Council, except China, approved.

The Secretary General in his report to the Security Council on October 26, 1973, set out as essential conditions that the force must have at all times the full confidence and backing of the Security Council, and that it must operate with the full co-operation of the parties concerned. This report was approved by the Security Council and we felt more assured that the

1973 UNEF was to be on a sounder basis than that of 1956. It is on that basis that we acceded to the Secretary General's request of October 27 and accepted our assignment on the force.

Subsequently, an argument developed in the Security Council about having representation in UNEF of various geographical and political groupings. We can understand the desirability of having representation of various geographical areas in a UN force. However, Canada does not view its participation in UNEF in terms of political representation but in terms of performing an essential function. When I have been asked from time to time shouldn't there be a representative of the Warsaw Pact as well as a representative of NATO, of which Canada is a member, I have said that we do not consider ourselves as acting in the capacity of representing anyone but the international community as a whole.

In any event, the Security Council decided that the logistic role should be shared between Canada and Poland. I have made it clear that there is no objection on our part to working with Poland, provided a clear and practical division of responsibilities can be worked out. Our concern is with the efficient operation of the logistics component. It is unfortunate that the debate in the Security Council delayed the dispatch of logistical support units by a full week and threw some confusion on the Canadian role in UNEF. Following the Security Council's agreement of November authorizing the Secretary General to consult with potential contributors, including Canada and Poland, our ambassador to the United Nations continued discussions with officials from the UN secretariat and Poland on the organization and composition of the logistics element.

At the same time, at the request of the Secretary General evaluation teams were dispatched to Cairo to assess the requirements on the ground. As a result of these discussions the Secretary General requested, and we agreed, that as the first phase in the deployment of a Canadian contingent Canada would provide a signals unit to provide communications for the force. Poland will be dispatching an engineer unit as the first element in its contribution.

The Secretary General is continuing his discussions with both Canada and Poland to determine the next phase of the logistics deployment, and in particular the allocation of functions between the two countries. In these discussions we have sought to consider in a constructive manner proposals put forward by the Secretary General, while having in mind the need to ensure that Canada will be able to provide a useful and effective contribution to the operation of the force. At the moment the government is giving active consideration to a proposal from the Secretary General that Canada provide an air unit. A request has been made to Poland to provide a field hospital unit. In addition, the Secretary General has made suggestions regarding the division of responsibilities between Canada and Poland with respect to the remaining logistic functions. The discussions have been complex and time-consuming, but I am hopeful that we may be in a position to announce shortly the details of the composition of the remainder of the Canadian contingent.

While these negotiations continue, the advance party of the Canadian signals unit arrived in Cairo on November 10. The deployment of this unit should be completed shortly and will number over 400 persons. This unit is being dispatched according to the schedule determined by the Secretary General.

He wanted to advance party of the unit on the ground as soon as possible because of the urgent requirement for an effective communications system within UNEF.

Another point demonstrated by the history of UNEF from 1956 to 1967 is that a peacekeeping force of this kind should be recognized by all parties as a temporary necessity, to help avoid a renewal of fighting while the parties to the conflict take up the fundamental problem which has led them to fight each other in the first place. It is precisely because the parties involved never made any progress toward a peaceful settlement in the ten years following 1956 that ultimately UNEF had to depart without any other prospect than renewed warfare. With this in mind, I stressed on October 22, that while we warmly welcomed the call for a ceasefire, it was vitally important in our view that the ceasefire should lead quickly to negotiations on the basic problems of the Middle East.

There is now a renewed opportunity for the parties involved to employ the respite that UNEF provides to tackle their basic differences. The principles of a just and lasting settlement have been set out since 1967 in Security Council Resolution 242 but until now no progress has been made in implementing that resolution and no negotiations based on its principles have taken place. Resolution 338 of October 22, 1973 which is the basis for the present ceasefire, also deals with the problem of a peaceful settlement. It calls for an immediate beginning to the implementation of Resolution 242 in all its parts and for the beginning of negotiation between the parties under appropriate auspices.

UNEF is not charged with the basic problems involved in a Middle East settlement. Its tasks are limited to supervising the implementation of the ceasefire, the return of the parties to their October 22 positions and the use of its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting. These will be the tests of UNEF and they will be acid tests. Should the parties to the recent conflict fail to comply with the Security Council resolutions and not allow UNEF to operate effectively, the gleam of hope that the ceasefire and Resolution 338 offer will be threatened with quick extinction. Let us pray that the parties involved will therefore quickly agree to comply with these first steps on the road toward peace.

There is no question that Canadians are desirous of a lasting peace and a lasting settlement in the Middle East and, while it may not be the task of UNEF to promote this settlement, it is still the responsibility of every member of the United Nations to do what it can to help bring about this peace and this settlement. In my statement of October 16 I emphasized that parties to the conflict would first have to agree on the basis of a settlement and terms of reference for such a force for Canada to accept participation in peacekeeping.

Both the hon. member for Saint-Hyacinthe (Mr. Wagner) and the hon. member for Greenwood (Mr. Brewin) stressed that our participation could only be undertaken with the consent of the immediate parties involved, and I have dwelt on our efforts to ensure this. I would add that the consent of the parties must be not only to accept the members of the peacekeeping force but also to facilitate its work by complying with the resolution which gave it birth. By their compliance with the Security Council resolutions, the parties will make our task work while.

There is encouragement in the fact that for the first time in some 20 years Israeli and Egyptian generals have met and signed an agreement on some urgent problems of the ceasefire situation. The governments of Egypt and of Israel displayed wisdom in accepting these arrangements, and I am sure that I speak for all the House when I say that the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, deserves high commendation for the effectiveness of his good offices.

We can only hope that these immediate arrangements will lead to further discussions and further agreement.

As I have said, the framework for peace exists in the resolutions adopted by the Security Council. The problem in our view has never been so much one of interpretation as of implementation of these resolutions. I further indicated in the House last week, in reply to a question, that in our view such provisions of Resolution 242-which we can read in either English or French since we are a bilingual country-as those calling for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territories and the establishment of secure and recognized boundaries for all states in the region, had to be taken together. Naturally, such matters as the drawing of boundaries may prove to be a long task, but is it beyond imagination to devise means of starting the implementation of the various provisions simultaneously?

The so-called Rogers Plan in 1970 provided for partial implementation of Resolution 242, by a simultaneous re-opening of the Suez Canal to navigation and a withdrawal by Israeli forces from the east bank of the canal. While that plan failed, the idea of balance is still a valid one. In fact, the whole basis of Resolution 242 is a balance of obligations and commitments. The problem of Palestinian refugees is one of the items in that balance. The resolution affirms the necessity "for achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem" and this problem should be at least broached simultaneously with the other matters I have mentioned. Canada has not forgotten these refugees. We are the third largest contributor to the United Nations agency which looks after their needs and we have just increased by \$550,000 our contribution for the current year.

The main thing now is quickly to get around to negotiating "under appropriate auspices" as Security Council Resolution 338 has it. To us, it would seem that the United Nations offers appropriate auspices. Others have mentioned the great powers, or some of them. We would hope that they would exert their influence to stimulate the parties to begin negotiations. To the Canadian government, any auspices would seem appropriate that provide a means whereby talks can begin on the essential aspects of the problem.

For more than 25 years, the United Nations has played the role of mediator, peacekeeper and truce supervisor in the Middle East. We cannot yet be sure that peace is any closer now than in 1948, 1956 or 1967. Once more, the parties in conflict are calling upon the United Nations to step in and give them time, time that can be used to negotiate for peace or to prepare for war. The Canadian government, in accepting to contribute its part to the UN peace effort, is not taking on this commitment in a spirit of blind optimism. We have had too long an experience in this field, the United Nations has had too long an experience in trying to find a peaceful settlement

in the Middle East for anyone to be afflicted with that particular defect. We consider that we have a responsibility to the world community and to all the people of the Middle East to do what we can to give them another chance to achieve a peaceful settlement when the fighting has stopped. That is the purpose of UNEF, and the reason for our participating in it. In putting forward this resolution, therefore, I am asking the House to agree that Canada should do its international duty.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
NOVEMBER 26, 1973



Government
Department

STATEMENT DISCOURS

PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE
MITCHELL SHARP, MOSCOW,
NOVEMBER 21, 1973

SSEA: I was here eighteen years ago as Deputy Minister, as a bureaucrat, when I accompanied Mr. Lester Pearson who later became Prime Minister of Canada, when he was the Foreign Minister. On this occasion I have been invited by the Soviet Government on an official visit and I had an opportunity yesterday to talk about both bilateral and international questions with Mr. Gromyko, the Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., whom I have encountered on a number of occasions throughout the world since he visited Canada four years ago. In recent years there has been a very great development in relations between Canada and the U.S.S.R.; we have signed a number of agreements and, in particular, the Protocol on Consultations which, in a sense, is the umbrella under which we are holding the talks here in the U.S.S.R. A great deal of the emphasis to our developing relations came about as a result of the visit here in the U.S.S.R. of our Prime Minister, Mr. Trudeau, and the visit of Mr. Kosygin to Canada in 1971. The U.S.S.R. is one of the close neighbours of Canada, our closest neighbour in the North, and, moreover, we have had continuing relationships with the U.S.S.R. in such places as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe of which Canada is a member. The discussions that I had yesterday reflect the nature of the relations between our two countries. During the morning, for example, we discussed bilateral relations between our two countries. We talked about cultural exchanges, we talked about human contacts, particularly the reunification of Canadian families; in the afternoon we talked about the international questions in which our two countries are very closely involved. The principal topics of conversation in the afternoon, for example, were the Middle East situation, Canada's participation in the United Nations' Emergency Force and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We found in our discussions some questions on which we were fully in agreement, some questions on which we were partly in agreement and more questions on which we had strongly differing views. And in my opinion it was very important that we should have had this exchange of views, not only on the questions on which we were in agreement, but particularly on those questions on which we had a differing point of view. On those questions on which we had differing points of view I believe it is important that we should have an exchange of views so that there is no room for misunderstanding, that both countries understand why they hold differing views and in the hope of influencing one another towards agreement.

Reunification of Canadian families: There are in Canada a number of Canadians who wish to bring members of their immediate family to Canada and thus reunite their families which often have been separated for a good many years. There is another question which relates to the concerns of Canadians about the general question of human contacts, reunification of families in a general sense which applies to many groups and, insofar as Canadians are concerned, since there are many of those racial origins in Canada, to the Jews and to the Ukrainians. On the first question of reunification of Canadian families very substantial progress is being made. During the last few years substantial proportions of the cases that have been brought forward by the Canadian Government have been dealt with satisfactorily. The general question of reunification of families and freedom to travel and so on, I did not raise except in the context of the concern of Canadians. I did not make representations on behalf of the Canadian Government as I did in connection with reunification of Canadian families, and on that question Mr. Gromyko replied that that was a matter of internal concern to the U.S.S.R. and was not an appropriate question for discussion in a bilateral context, and I should add that in the reunification of Canadian

families there are Jews, there are Ukrainians, there are people of all racial origins representing the various national groups in the U.S.S.R. When I raised the question of dissent within the U.S.S.R. Mr. Gromyko's attitude was "Well," he said, "you are quite familiar with dissent in Canada and we have some here in the U.S.S.R. and it shouldn't surprise you."

Q. In which field of the exchanges you had do you feel you may have the most positive results, whether it is in the political, economic or cultural exchanges field?

A. I am particularly satisfied with the progress we have made in these talks on three areas. First, on the reunification of families. Very substantial progress is being made and I believe this will do much to improve relations between Canada and the U.S.S.R. In the field of cultural affairs we are agreed on the desirability of continuing the very successful cultural activities and sports activities between our two countries, and in the field of trade we are agreed that there now must be more substance to the negotiations that have been going on, to translate studies into contracts.

Q. Re areas of difference.

A. I think one of the areas in which we have a considerable difference of opinion, and I would not want to over-emphasize this because it may be that in the course of negotiations we may come closer together, but we do take a somewhat differing view on the negotiations now going on in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Canada, like other western countries is trying to reduce the barriers that now interfere with the movement of peoples, ideas and information. Mr. Gromyko, speaking on behalf of the Soviet Government, places greater emphasis on such questions as the inviolability of frontiers, the principle of non-involvement in the internal affairs of countries, the questions of non-aggression. This is a difference in emphasis. When I have met Mr. Gromyko in the past we have both agreed that in any agreement that is worked out within this conference there is a place for both concepts. So this is not a difference of point of view so much as a difference of emphasis, but it is nevertheless a very important difference of emphasis and I have made my point clear to Mr. Gromyko on a number of occasions, including the talks yesterday.

Q. Re Soviet attitude on a Middle East cease-fire.

A. In our discussion we both agreed upon the necessity of maintaining the cease-fire. We did not leave any differences on that point, needless to say. I did, however, explore with Mr. Gromyko the possibilities in the next phase, the question of negotiations between Israel and the Arab countries. And on that question the impression I gained was how difficult is the problem of reaching a settlement that is considered fair and just by both sides. Mr. Gromyko made it very clear to me that he was very strongly in support of the Arab point of view.

Q. Re the energy crisis.

A. No we did not discuss the energy question. I don't think there is any basis for a discussion of this question between Canada and the U.S.S.R. We are not likely to be suppliers by one to the other of energy, at least in the immediate future.

Q. Re Soviet attitude to the Kissinger mission and the Middle East.

A. Mr. Gromyko did not discuss with me the American attitude toward the Middle East crisis. At one point, however, he said that they had been carrying on discussions with the Arab countries and United States of America.

Q. Re Palestine refugees.

A. Yes, we had very long talks on this subject because I had expressed the view that this was at the heart of the problem and that unless some satisfactory solution was reached it would be very difficult to achieve a settlement that would be considered just by the two sides. This was one of the reasons why I came to the conclusion that the problem of a settlement is going to be extremely difficult.

Q. Are you satisfied with your visit and to what extent?

A. Yes, I am very satisfied so far with the visit and before I leave the U.S.S.R. I am sure that I am going to feel even more satisfied. In the first place it is quite clear from the way that I have been received here and by the serious way the talks have been conducted that the U.S.S.R. wishes to have good relations with Canada. The second reason that I am pleased is that I will have had an opportunity of speaking at some length with three leading members of the Soviet hierarchy: the Foreign Minister, the President and the Prime Minister, Mr. Kosygin. Finally, I am satisfied because during the talks we have not engaged in platitudinous remarks but we have discussed really very difficult problems. And that to me is the greatest source of satisfaction.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
DECEMBER 4, 1973

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STATEMENT DISCOURS

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY
OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP

"AMBASSADOR ROSS"

I wish to express my concern at the campaign of criticism and condemnation that has been directed by a variety of Canadian social and political groups, as well as by sections of the Canadian news media, against the Canadian Ambassador to Chile, Mr. Andrew Ross, a conscientious and dedicated public servant who enjoys, and who continues to enjoy, the confidence of the government. This campaign against Ambassador Ross has been most unfair and unjustified because it has been based on selectively leaked messages and selectively quoted excerpts of messages which he sent to the government, and on a misunderstanding of the role and the responsibility of a Canadian ambassador abroad.

As Canadian Ambassador to Chile, Ambassador Ross' first responsibility is to represent the interests of Canada -- not Chile -- and to report events in Chile as he observed them on the spot and to relate these events to the totality of Canada's interests in that country. This he did to the best of his ability and it is a matter of concern that certain groups in Canada who would be the first to champion the rights of free speech and expression, and the rights of privacy of communication, would seem so ready to denounce Ambassador Ross for his exercise of these rights when some of his views did not, apparently, accord with their own.

There has also been much unjustified criticism of Ambassador Ross in regard to the question of granting temporary shelter in the Canadian Embassy and in regard to the movement of refugees and other persons seeking to emigrate to Canada. Ambassador Ross and the embassy staff arranged for the safe-conduct of over fifty persons to obtain shelter in other embassies and, eventually, to leave Chile. He and his wife also granted temporary shelter in the Canadian Embassy -- an exceptional measure in Canadian practice -- to eight Canadians and to nineteen non-Canadians who were cared for until arrangements could be made for their safe-conduct out of Chile. His actions were, of course, in accordance with instructions that he received from the government and which he carried out to the government's satisfaction. Certain responsible groups in Canada have obviously felt that the government should have been doing more in this regard and, as a result of their recent and documented representations and our own investigations of the situation on the spot, the government has agreed to apply more relaxed selection criteria with regard to persons in Chile wishing to emigrate to Canada.

Ours is a free country of free institutions and those who disagree with the government's policy on any particular issue are free to criticize the government and make representations for changes of policy. This is the essence of our democratic system of government. However, those who are critical of government policy should direct their criticism against the government and not against a dedicated public servant who is honestly endeavouring to implement government policy and government instructions to the best of his ability.

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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
DECEMBER 18, 1973

"ROME AIRPORT TRAGEDY"

I know that all Canadians share with me my feeling of shock and horror at the terrible tragedy which has been perpetrated on innocent people at Rome Airport by misguided individuals who seek to use human hostages and lives to further their political aims. I extend my deepest sympathy to the families of the victims and to the injured.

The world community must respond to these acts by making it clear to such malicious individuals that, whatever their goals, attempts to hold governments to ransom with the lives of innocent people cannot be tolerated. I made a strong plea in the United Nations a year ago that there can be no truce with terror, and again, last September, I reminded the United Nations that although international efforts to combat terrorism have gathered some momentum, the problem of terrorism has not been eliminated.

Canada has been in the forefront of those nations urging international adoption of measures to prevent hijacking and air sabotage. We regret that our efforts and those of like-minded nations to have adopted more effective measures at the extraordinary I.C.A.O. assembly held in Rome last September were unsuccessful. Canada will continue its efforts within I.C.A.O. and elsewhere to develop measures to prevent a re-occurrence of these tragedies. The fundamental principle that all nations must apply is that there can be no safe haven for perpetrators of such crimes.



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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
JANUARY 10, 1974.

DÉCLARATION DU SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT
AUX AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES,
MONSIEUR MITCHELL SHARP,
LE 10 JANVIER 1974

The Canadian Embassy in Santiago has obtained from the Chilean authorities the 55 safe-conducts authorizing all the persons who had been sheltered in the Chancery at the beginning of December to leave Chile. Forty-eight Chileans in receipt of safe-conducts together with their dependants for a total of 106 are expected in Toronto on January 12 on the Department of National Defence aircraft which is also bringing other refugees and immigrants from Chile. The seven other persons with safe-conducts secured by the Canadian Embassy who have chosen a destination other than Canada are flying directly to the countries concerned.

Mr. Sharp noted the good co-operation of the Chilean authorities in expeditiously granting the safe-conducts requested by Ambassador Ross and in permitting dependants to travel at the same time.

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L'Ambassade du Canada à Santiago a obtenu des autorités chiliennes les 55 sauf-conduits autorisant toutes les personnes qui avaient été accueillies dans la Chancellerie au début de décembre, à quitter le Chili. Quante-huit Chiliens en possession d'un sauf-conduit et leur famille, soit 106 personnes arriveront à Toronto le 12 janvier à bord de l'avion du Ministère de la Défense qui amène également d'autres réfugiées et immigrants en provenance du Chili. Les 7 autres personnes qui ont obtenu des sauf-conduits, par l'entremise de l'Ambassade du Canada, ont choisi des pays tiers, et sont parties directement pour ces pays.

M. Sharp a noté la bonne coopération des autorités chiliennes qui ont émis avec diligence les sauf-conduits sollicités par l'Ambassadeur Ross et permis aux familles de partir ensemble.

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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE
MITCHELL SHARP

"CONSULAR ASSISTANCE"

From time to time during the past few months there have been expressions of public interest and concern regarding the nature and degree of assistance provided to Canadian citizens who find themselves in difficulties with the laws and regulations of the countries they are visiting or in which they are temporarily resident. I should like, therefore, to explain the limitations on what the Government of Canada, through its representatives abroad, can do on behalf of Canadian citizens who find themselves in such difficulties.

Assistance by foreign consular or diplomatic representatives in another country to their nationals in general is based on longstanding international custom and, more particularly, on the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations of 1961 and 1963, and on any such special bilateral agreements as may exist between the particular governments concerned. (Because the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations contains certain provisions which involve the jurisdiction of provincial governments, the Government of Canada has not yet considered itself to be in a position to become a party to that Agreement. However, it is essentially declaratory of general and longstanding international law concepts and Canadian consular practice is generally in conformity with it.) Article 5 of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations specifies the various internationally accepted consular functions, including: "protecting in the receiving State the interests of the sending State and of its nationals, both individuals and bodies corporate, within the limits prescribed by international law". The limits prescribed by international law refer, of course, to the principle that states are sovereign entities and that the laws, customs and regulations of a particular country have no external status or authority, and thus do not apply inside foreign states. It is a long established principle of international law and custom that under ordinary conditions a citizen of one state coming within the jurisdiction of another state may make no claim to favoured status. His basic rights are the same as those of a citizen of that country. At one time in the 19th and the early 20th centuries certain states had imposed on them by the then imperial and colonial powers the acceptance of special consular courts to deal with foreign nationals but these arrangements, aptly called "capitulations", were ultimately recognized as being repugnant to national sovereignty and independence and were abolished half a century ago.

It follows, therefore, that Canadian citizens residing or travelling in other countries are subject to the laws and regulations of those countries, just as foreign citizens residing or travelling in Canada are subject to Canadian laws and regulations. When such persons run afoul of these laws and regulations, they must be expected to be dealt with in accordance with local procedures and practices, just as foreign citizens in violation of laws in Canada must be dealt with in accordance with Canadian laws and regulations. Unfortunately, many countries have laws, regulations and legal procedures which could be regarded as severe and even harsh by Canadian standards. Some countries, for example, permit almost unlimited detention without charges, pending an investigation of a case; severe punishments are often imposed, particularly for trafficking in or use of narcotics; conditions of detention, while perhaps adequate by local standards, are sometimes far below what we would consider to be even minimum standards in Canada. Legally and officially all that Canadian representatives abroad can do in such circumstances is to ensure that a Canadian citizen is treated no less fairly than other foreign nationals or than the citizens of that country would be treated in similar circumstances, and to ensure that appropriate legal counsel is obtained. Unofficially, Canadian representatives abroad can and do assist by making representations to local

authorities to consider possible mitigating circumstances, to speed up otherwise slow judicial processes, and to appeal for leniency on possible humanitarian grounds to the extent which local law and practice permit.

Travel statistics indicate that, on a per capita basis, the number of Canadians travelling abroad is probably greater than that of any other country and our own passport figures bear out this estimate. In 1973, the number of Canadian passports which were issued amounted to 561,500, a 10% increase over the number issued in the previous year and more than double the number issued in 1967. At the present time there are over two million valid Canadian passports in the possession of Canadians. Thus, apart from visitors to the United States without passports, about 10% of the total Canadian population are actual or potential world travellers and the number is steadily increasing! Relatively few of these Canadians encounter difficulties with the laws of other countries, which is a testimony to the law abiding character of our citizens, but situations do arise where Canadians abroad find themselves, for one reason or another, involved in infractions of local laws and regulations. Most of these cases, I am happy to say, are dealt with quietly and effectively by our consular officers; the few cases that prove really difficult and sometimes beyond our control are the ones that draw public attention.

Canadians, upon being detained by the local authorities abroad can normally inform our Embassies of their arrest either by telephone, telegram, letter or through consular officers and lawyers visiting jails. I should point out that foreign governments are under no obligation to inform our representatives when a Canadian is in custody, unless the person detained so requests or our representative makes an inquiry. Nonetheless, most foreign governments do notify our representatives when a Canadian is in custody. Whenever our Embassies and Consulates abroad are notified that Canadian citizens have been arrested or are otherwise in difficulty with the local laws, they immediately seek information as to the details concerning the person concerned, the charges being laid. They request immediate consular access so as to be able to ascertain and respond to the individual's wishes regarding legal counsel, notification of next-of-kin, and other specific requests he may have. Also it can sometimes happen that the individuals in question for various reasons of their own do not want Canadian representatives to be aware of their situation and request the local authorities that they not be notified. There are therefore, instances where we do not learn of such situations or where we learn of them only later by accident, or when the individual concerned decides, after a time, to request assistance.

When the authorities of other countries insist on the application of their laws to Canadians there is an understandable concern and sympathy on the part of other Canadians, particularly the families of the person concerned, that a fellow Canadian or a family member is in legal difficulties abroad, where there may be differences of language and custom. When local laws and procedures are more rigorous or harsh than those that apply in Canada, there can be even greater concern and possibly a feeling that an injustice is being perpetrated and that the Government and my Department should "do something about it". I fully understand and sympathize with this sentiment, but unfortunately, in such situations there is usually very little other than the steps I have already outlined that the Government or my Department can do, much as we might like to do more. Our dealings with other governments on these matters must be carried out within the guidelines of international law and accepted international practice. These guidelines restrict the official steps which our representatives abroad can take on behalf of our citizens in trouble

with the law of other governments to those I have outlined above. Canada would not tolerate attempts by foreign governments to interfere in our own judicial processes on behalf of their nationals, nor would we take kindly to outraged or intemperate criticisms of our judicial practices.

Since orderly international relations are based on reciprocity, I cannot go along with the suggestions I receive from some concerned Canadians that we take drastic action toward the government concerned and perhaps sever trade or aid relations with a country which is not treating one of our citizens in accordance with our standards or that we make our concern known through highly publicized demands and threats. I am sure that most Canadians would agree, on reflection, that such emotional response not only would not have the desired effect of relieving the immediate problem but, even if it were possible and not contrary to our bilateral or multilateral obligations, it would only exacerbate the general relationship between the country concerned and Canada. It would also be detrimental to our diplomatic efforts to resolve the situation and possibly create fresh difficulties for other Canadians residing or travelling in that country. I should like to add that in replying to queries on the consular assistance being provided to a Canadian, I am not always at liberty to mention in detail the initiatives taken by our offices abroad or here in Ottawa; were I to do so, it could jeopardize the solution of a case or would not respect the wishes expressed by the Canadian concerned.

I would like in particular to mention that special problems can arise in connection with naturalized Canadians or, in some cases, natural-born Canadians of naturalized parents who may be regarded by the country of their birth or their parents' birth still to be citizens of those countries and therefore, even if they are thus "dual nationals", to be then subject to its laws concerning taxation, military service, etc. If they should return to a country which claims jurisdiction over them and find themselves in difficulty, then while representations can of course be made and are made by Canadian representatives on their behalf, and while in some cases these are successful, in other cases the authorities in the countries concerned decline to entertain such representations and insist on their laws being applied--an attitude which is not inconsistent with international law and practice. (Canadians who have dual nationality and who plan to visit the country of their first citizenship should make certain that they will not encounter any such problems before going there.) This sort of problem exists in regard to the United States where all male persons born in that country of Canadian parents, and who are therefore dual nationals, are liable under United States law to register for Universal Military Service immediately upon attaining the age of 18, whether or not they are present in that country. Where such dual United States-Canadian citizens neglect to comply with such procedure they are liable to prosecution upon re-entering the United States. The same requirement for registration at age 18 and liability to prosecution for non-compliance apply to all Canadian male children who are permanent residents of the U.S.A.

There are, of course, also other difficulties which can befall Canadians travelling or living abroad, which do not involve infractions of local laws and regulations but which are no less distressing. Deaths and illnesses occur while Canadians are abroad, they become injured, they lose money or passports or are victims of robberies. Because of international conflict or local tensions they may require urgent assistance and possibly evacuation from the area. In such cases Canadian representatives abroad are prepared to assist whenever possible, notifying next-of-kin, arranging for medical attention, providing emergency financial assistance, emergency evacuation, and so on. From time to time misunderstandings arise, or a mistake is made, but in the vast majority of cases these situations have happy endings and I receive many letters testifying to this. During the past year,

our embassies and consulates abroad provided 204,600 consular services to Canadians in difficulties for one reason or another who asked for assistance; in only an exceedingly small percentage of these cases was there any complaint on the part of the person concerned or the next-of-kin. Unfortunately, as I pointed out earlier, it is these few instances which come to public attention and criticism. While I welcome such criticism if it concerns errors of omission or commission on our part, I think it is unfair if it relates to these few situations beyond our control or when it ignores the fact that such situations represent only a very small proportion of the many, many consular cases which are resolved quietly and successfully. The Government and my Department attach very great importance to the protection of Canadian citizens and interests abroad and we shall continue to exert our best efforts to maintain and improve the services that we can provide.

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NOTES FOR A SPEECH BY
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
TO GERMAN-CANADIAN BUSINESS
AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATES
TORONTO, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1974

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Encouraged by a good dinner and congenial company I propose to defy the traditional wisdom of ministerial speech making--that a Minister should address himself to the most topical issue of the day. The most topical issue or, if you wish, the burning issue of the day, and, indeed of the last five months is, of course, energy. This evening, I propose not to talk about energy--at least to avoid the current concentration on this subject. I am going to talk about other important subjects--ones which I can discuss in much more positive terms--relations between this country and the Federal Republic of Germany and more generally between Canada and the European Community.

In a word, Canadian-German relations are "burgeoning". Ten years ago, trade between Canada and the Federal Republic, amounted to about 315 million dollars. At last count the figures were approaching a billion dollars annually. Over the 10 year period, this is an increase of 160%. Over the past year, there has been an increase in both directions of 25%. Germany has become our fourth largest trading partner. These are impressive figures and I am sure that in large measure, they reflect the vision and hard work of many members of the German-Canadian business and professional community.

However, left as they are, these figures do not tell the whole story. There is, in fact, an imbalance. While our exports to the Federal Republic have been increasing they have not kept pace with the volume of imports from that country. For our part the Government is trying to reduce this imbalance by encouraging increased sales to the Federal Republic, not only of raw or semi-processed material but also of a range of manufactured and processed goods. In a free society this is a co-operative enterprise and further success will depend to a great extent on the support and initiative of Canadian business.

Trade is, of course, only one aspect of Canadian relations with the Federal Republic. Other common interests are reflected in agreements on Science and Technology, Defence Research and Production, Social Security and in a proposed agreement on cultural co-operation. An agreement on bilateral consultations, on matters of common concern, was signed by Herr Scheel and myself this last September. In Science and Technology alone the results have been very satisfying to both sides. Industrial co-operation is already taking place in marine technology and there are prospects of useful collaboration in communications satellites.

With The Federal Republic, as with Europe as a whole, our relations have never been exclusively nor are even primarily, based on trade. History, common values, and for many of us, common European origins are the source of continued and potent links.

The links are strong, but the relationship is not static. The problems and perspectives of the European Community are subject to change. Canada's approach to the Community, particularly under the Diefenbaker

administration, was not always enthusiastic. But when the administration of which I was and am a member took office and as the Community itself developed--as its institutions and its outlook expanded, there has been a responsive evolution in the Canadian attitude--the attitude of the people of Canada as well as its government--toward the Community.

The Canadian attitude has also been shaped by recognition of the world stature of the European Community. The development of the nine is not simply a matter of new institutional arrangements in Europe. Despite inevitable disagreements and internal abrasions evident, as you know, at the Energy Conference I attended in Washington this week, it also represents a growth of real power--self confidence and influence which has significantly altered the pattern of world economic relationships.

The European Community is the second largest of our trading partners--and we are confident that the volume of trade between Canada and the Community will continue to grow.

In another very practical way, an expanding relationship with Europe is an essential feature of one of the Government's most fundamental policies. This is the policy to diversify--to reduce the vulnerability of the Canadian economy to one continental market--to maintain our freedom of action in the international scene--and equally important to preserve and nourish our individuality.

At the same time, let me be clear in stating that we were not thinking in terms of substituting Europe for the United States as a trading partner. We are North Americans and the United States, of course, remains our most important partner.

But the mere acknowledgement of this fact does not lead us to accept the constraints of any so-called continental determinism. We believe we can multiply our exchanges with other countries, particularly in Europe, with a view to promoting the cultural life and economic prosperity of Canadians without loosening in the process our vigorous ties with our Southern neighbours.

In relative terms our relationship with Europe is more important to us than the United States' relationship with Europe is to the Americans. Forty-two percent of our immigration continues to come from Europe. Our national fabric is composed of distinctive ethnic groups--most of them European. These have not been assimilated into a Canadian homogeneity. As in this organization, they preserve and value their links with Europe as they do their Canadian nationality.

Security is another bond. Canada's security is indivisible from that of Europe. That is why we are members of NATO. We do not have troops in Europe (in fact in the Federal Republic) solely for the purpose of defending Europe, but to defend Canadians. A strong and independent Western Europe is vital to the independence of Canada. Complementary to our NATO purposes is our agreement with the Federal Republic for the training of battalion-size groups of German forces on the Canadian Forces Bases at Shilo, Manitoba.

Canadian interest in the attitude which the Community will take to its responsibilities to the world community is, of course, natural. Canada, perhaps more than any of the other industrialized nations, is dependent on an increasingly free and open world order, particularly in the economic and trade

spheres. It is clear that we have "a vested interest" in the increasing liberalization of conditions of trade throughout the world. It is highly important to us that bloc confrontations, about which there has been some recent concern, be avoided. The importance of a generally outward looking world view from the European Community cannot be underestimated. In any confrontation between economic giants such the enlarged Community, the United States and Japan, we would all stand to lose--Canada more than most.

It follows that our interests in the Federal Republic are not just those of a close trading partner, a nation with whom we share many cultural and political values, a colleague in NATO and the OECD. We are vitally interested in the role the Federal Republic is playing in the enlarged European Community. As the most populous and economically powerful member, the Federal Republic's role will continue to be very significant. As anywhere else, power can be exercised badly or constructively. In the case of the Federal Republic, that power has, in our view, been used with imagination and with the wider interests of the world community at heart. The Federal Republic has been a leader in trying to shape responsible and outward looking policies for the nine.

Shortly before he came to Ottawa this fall Herr Scheel and I were both in New York at the United Nations General Assembly. His visit was an historic one. The admission to the United Nations of both German states was an outstanding achievement. For the Federal German Republic it was a difficult decision. For the United Nations, it brings that organization much closer to the long cherished goal of universality. For Europe it gives greater substance and meaning to détente. When the process began it meant the opening of talks leading to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic.

For our part this process began on December 22, 1972 when the Canadian Government announced its willingness to establish diplomatic relations with the government of the German Democratic Republic and to hold discussions for this purpose. Our announcement constituted recognition of the GDR by Canada. Through our respective ambassadors in Warsaw, we have been discussing the establishment of diplomatic relations since February, 1973. In so doing, our interest has been in achieving complete mutual understanding before entering into any agreement on diplomatic relations. We wished to obtain clarification on a number of matters we thought should be completely understood before any agreement was concluded. We have asked questions and the GDR has asked questions and through this process we have clarified a number of important issues.

On two occasions, the most recent being in New York in September, I have discussed this matter with my GDR colleague, Foreign Minister Otto Winzer. Although the talks have taken longer than we would have liked, the end result, we hope, will have been worth the perseverance and patience that have been required. One of our principal preoccupations has been the matter of the reunification of families which we would like to see dealt with expeditiously on a humanitarian basis.

In making its announcement the Canadian Government also made known its intention to propose negotiations on a suitable basis for trade between Canada and the GDR once diplomatic relations are established.

In my own remarks to the United Nations General Assembly, I made the point--not just of welcoming the two German states--but of applauding the

statesmanship, the breadth of mind, that had brought about this achievement. The statesmanship to which I was referring was that of "Ostpolitik"--pursued with skill, determination and courage by Chancellor Willie Brant and the Government of the Federal German Republic.

I commend this outlook. It is the longer rational view, which acknowledges world responsibilities as well as national responsibilities. This outlook characterized the Federal German participation in the Washington Conference earlier this week. I think I can say that it applied also to Canada's role in the Conference. There is no doubt in my mind that this is the approach we shall all need to meet the very serious challenges ahead.

Canada

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FEBRUARY 21, 1974

STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY
OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS.

SECRÉTAIRE
D'ÉTAT AUX
AFFAIRES
EXTÉRIEURES.



STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP

"CANADIAN HUMANITARIAN AID
FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA"

Some confusion apparently prevails about the Government's policy of providing humanitarian assistance to various indigenous groups in Africa. The position of the Canadian Government is as follows:

For many years Canadians have been concerned about the injustice of racist and colonial policies in Southern Africa. As has been publicly stated on many occasions, the Government shares this concern and it has contributed funds to several programmes designed to assist the victims of these policies. Canadian aid has been channelled mainly to assist refugees from Southern Africa and to provide scholarships for Africans from Rhodesia and Namibia (South West Africa) to study in Canada and in other countries. Canadian funds authorized for the current fiscal year have been channelled through the following United Nations and international bodies in these amounts:

U.N. Education and Training Programme for Southern Africa	\$ 75,000
U.N. Trust Fund for South Africa	10,000
U.N. Scholarships for Namibians	25,000
Commonwealth Secretariat Scholarship Programme for Rhodesians	67,000
International University Exchange Fund	75,000 (approx.)
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	50,000 (approx.)
	<hr/>
TOTAL	\$302,000

The meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government in Ottawa in August 1973 approved the following declaration concerning Southern Africa:

" Heads of Government reviewed the efforts of the indigenous people of the territories in Southern Africa to achieve self-determination and independence and agreed on the need to give every humanitarian assistance to those engaged in such efforts."

Canada endorsed this statement.

In line with this declaration I stated in my speech to the United Nations on September 25, 1973 that Canada "is studying ways to broaden its humanitarian support" for persons in Southern Africa engaged in efforts to achieve equality. Accordingly the Government decided to extend its current humanitarian aid for refugees in Southern Africa by giving consideration to humanitarian projects and scholarships for the indigenous people residing within the white-ruled countries and territories of Southern Africa and to refugees in adjacent countries.

To implement this expanded programme the Canadian International Development Agency would be authorized to consider requests for assistance in support of projects within Southern Africa provided such projects are sponsored by reputable Canadian non-governmental and international organizations and provided such projects are of a humanitarian or developmental nature. Each project would be evaluated on its own merits and the sponsoring organizations would have to satisfy the Canadian authorities that strict control of the project will be maintained and that full accountability will be furnished.

The Government of Canada does not intend to make funds directly available to liberation movements in Southern Africa. Moreover, no grants to organizations providing humanitarian assistance to such movements in Southern Africa have yet been made and none will be made until the estimates of C.I.D.A. for the year 1974/75, which include contributions to non-government organizations, have been approved by Parliament.

When referring to Canada's intention to extend its humanitarian aid programme for Southern Africa, Miss Monique Bégin, M.P., the Canadian representative on the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, indicated on December 14, 1973 that, subject to parliamentary approval, Canada, in 1974, will contribute \$175,000 to the United Nations Education and Training Programme in Southern African and \$100,000 to the International University Exchange Fund, two programmes which provide scholarship assistance to refugees controlled by the minority regimes in Southern Africa.

The Canadian Government does not support the use of violence to solve the current conflicts in Southern Africa. However, the Government believes that there should be tangible support for the efforts of the indigenous people of Southern Africa who are striving to achieve human dignity and self-determination and it will therefore, subject to parliamentary approval, continue to expand its humanitarian assistance to these people.



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NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS
BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
:FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
TO THE FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF
ITALIAN-CANADIANS

OTTAWA, FEBRUARY 24, 1974

I am delighted and I am very much honoured to have been invited here today -- to the founding conference of the National Congress of Italian-Canadians. This is, I think, not an occasion to speak about foreign policy nor even about the important and prospering relations between Canada and Italy. Nor do I think you would like to hear from me the many clichés often considered appropriate for occasions such as this -- about the greatness of the Italian nation.

The greatness is there, of course, set firmly in the history of civilized man and no cosmetic polish of mine will add to its lustre. No, there are other things I would like to talk about, which may have more relevance to this Founding Meeting.

But before you hear further from me, you are going to hear from the Prime Minister. It is my pleasant duty to read you his message which, as it is in three languages, I shall do in descending order of proficiency:

"It is with great pleasure that I send warmest greetings to all in attendance at the historic Italian-Canadian Founding Conference of February 23 and 24, 1974. Your meeting together is a culmination of months of planning and is indicative of the vigorous life and energy of the Italian community in Canada.

" -- Le Canada est un pays fortuné: de nombreuses races s'y côtoient, chacune apportant sa contribution particulière. Dans la diversité repose notre force; dans la variété, notre richesse, notre souplesse. Le partage de notre héritage culturel particulier avec nos concitoyens nous permet d'établir ensemble le fondement de la tolérance et de la compréhension entre les races et les nations.

" -- Siamo tuttavia conscienti del pericolo di diventare talmente assorti nel nostro gruppo particolare da perdere il contatto con gli altri elementi in mezzo a noi. Mantenendo aperto lo scambio con altri gruppi, con una comunicazione costante e con un dialogo ininterrotto, possiamo sventare questo pericolo. Spero e confido che il fatto di avere fra di noi una comunità italiana vigorosa e attiva arricchirà la vita di tutti i canadesi. Invio i miei più vivi auguri per il successo della Conferenza."

I expect that some of this ground will have been covered by Mr. Haidasz last night -- but at the risk of duplication I would like to give you some of my views on the ethnic community and its relationship to Canadian society as a whole.

It is fashionable to say that the United States is a melting pot and Canada a mosaic.

A mosaic, or perhaps a fresco, we have used these phrases as symbols or catch-words. But the symbols we use are not adequate. A mosaic or a fresco is a work of imagination, skill, even of faith. But it is frozen in time. It is not living and growing, changing and maturing as is Canada.

What we are trying to describe is something which is uniquely Canadian and for which there is not one adequate descriptive word -- unless it is Canada itself.

In other words, the ethnic pieces are not self-contained. Multi-culturalism does not mean closed ethnic communities -- the careful reproduction of a European environment and the shutting out of North American influence. It means becoming integrated members of a Canadian society -- members who can relate to other groups on a basis of a common Canadian background, who can enrich themselves as they will enrich the wider Canadian society by drawing on their own spiritual and cultural heritage. It means knowing that their opportunities are not limited by the size or character or customs of their own community.

But on this, as in many other things, our thinking is in parallel. You have rejected the notion that a national congress or society should be a cocoon, sheltering its members from interaction with other groups. I was pleased to note that the first purpose in the Congress' statement of objectives is "To foster the evolution of a better Canadian society by promoting mutual understanding, goodwill, and cooperation between Canadians of Italian and of other origins."

I will not mislead you by suggesting that this process of relating to other parts of society and of feeling comfortably integrated with Canadian society is always easy. Most Canadians at one time or another, of whatever origin, bump against brittle or insensitive barriers. This may be a smug so-called establishment -- and they exist even in our comparatively open and mobile society -- or it may be just plain ignorant bigotry. Ours is not a perfect society and the artificial barriers are there. I do know that they seem even higher and more forbidding to the first generation Canadian. Nevertheless, there is a growing awareness and increasing respect for the values of a plural society. The barriers aren't disappearing but they are getting smaller.

There is, as I see it, a very dynamic process of change and maturing in our society. There was a time when it was common-place for the second generation to scoff at parents whose accents and whose customs identified their origins -- to be slightly embarrassed because they did not sound fully "Canadian." It is my experience, and I hope it is yours, that we have come -- not all the way -- but some distance from these narrow attitudes.

There is other evidence of this very positive change. Italian Canadians -- Polish Canadians, Ukrainian Canadians, Canadians of non-Anglo Saxon or French origins, are not anglicizing their names as much as they have in the past. This is a sign of pride in their community, confidence in themselves, and confidence in the basic fairness of the system.

How have these changes occurred? As the Prime Minister has said, it is, in part, "the vigorous life and energy of the Italian Community." But it takes more than one element for this national chemistry to work -- for the

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NOTES FOR A
STATEMENT BY
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP

TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL DEFENCE

APR 19 1974

OTTAWA, MARCH 19, 1974

In presenting the estimates of the Department of External Affairs and of CIDA to this Committee, I shall confine myself to a few major topics of importance to Canada's external relations. This means that I shall leave aside a number of other matters which are also of importance, but on which either this Committee has recently had rather full briefings, as for instance, on the Law of the Sea question, or which are moving toward some significant stage in the coming months.

For instance, the structures and relationships in Latin America are going through a period of active reassessment which we are following with great interest. As the results of this rethinking emerge, I shall wish to take a later opportunity to suggest where Canada might fit into any new hemispheric patterns and proposals.

Energy Situation

Since last I spoke to this Committee on the estimates of the Department of External Affairs and of CIDA, there has occurred a series of related events with far reaching and widespread consequences for the world as a whole and inevitably, therefore, for Canada. The major event of this series is, of course, what has been called the energy crisis. In fact, the problems of the supply and price of oil are only the currently most acute symptoms of a much wider problem: the increasing demands made by mankind on the world's food and industrial resources.

When I spoke to you last May, I mentioned the increasing preoccupation about a prospective energy shortage and associated balance of payment questions. At the time, it was clear that the world would have to think hard and rapidly about its energy resources, in view of the tremendous annual increase in demand upon these resources, which has been the pattern in recent years. What was not foreseen at that time, was that this situation would suddenly become acute, with respect to both supply and price, particularly of oil.

The sharp and sudden rise in the price of oil has had extraordinary effects throughout the world. Unless measures are taken to insure continued growth of the world economy, the world trading system could as a result be seriously undermined.

The main industrialized countries, which are large users of energy, have a major responsibility because of their importance in world trade, to try to prevent this from happening. It was with this end in view that Canada attended the Washington Energy Conference in early February and has cooperated in the follow-up to that Conference which is aimed essentially at identifying the economic facts of the situation, trying to ensure that appropriate steps to correct the situation are being taken in the various international institutions, and to lay the ground work for an early and meaningful dialogue with the oil producing countries on problems of mutual concern.

Another broad area of agreement in Washington was on the necessity for research into and development of the world's untapped sources of energy. These include the known deposits of the more complex forms in which oil is found, such as heavy oil and oil sands in Western Canada, and the oil shale deposits in the U.S. There is also the longer term problem of the smooth transition to other

forms of energy such as nuclear power, about which quite a bit is already known, and the longer term quest for geothermal and solar power.

As both producer and consumer, Canada occupies a rather different position from a good many of the other industrialized countries. While the net effect of oil price increases on our balance of payments is very small, we cannot hope to escape the inflationary effects of still rising prices in an already serious world inflationary situation. Nor can we as a country heavily dependent on foreign trade afford to ignore the possible adverse effects on world trade caused by the run down of foreign exchange reserves and the general destabilization of world production.

Canada therefore has supported vigorously efforts to maintain the world pace of economic activity and to encourage the newly wealthy oil producers to play a role in international financial institutions commensurate with their new financial status.

We have learned with great interest that the producing countries are actively seeking ways in which to share with other developing countries some of their new found wealth. Canada welcomes this positive step. Most of these countries are themselves in the process of development and in the earliest stages of industrialization. They have made clear their desire to use these funds for the rapid development of their economies, as well as for a large range of social purposes.

A number of these countries have made known to Canada their wish for closer relations for the mutual benefit of both sides. We have therefore begun a program of extending our representation in the Middle East to assist this process. The opening of a Canadian embassy in the Saudi Arabian capital of Jeddah was announced on December 21. At that time, I said that the Government would shortly be considering the opening of other missions in the Middle East such as in Baghdad and elsewhere.

Apart from the opening of embassies, the earlier step of establishing formal diplomatic relations with Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and the Federation of Arab Emirates was announced on February 2. The Canadian Ambassador resident in Teheran will be the Canadian representative accredited to these states.

We have also agreed to establish diplomatic relations with the two Yemens: the Arab Republic and the People's Democratic Republic. We had already established commercial relations with these two countries. This now completes the formal establishment of relations with all countries of the Middle East.

At the intergovernmental level we shall wish to encourage discussion:

- to ensure the dependability of world oil supply;
- to discourage the use of oil and other commodities for political purposes; and
- to achieve some stabilization of oil prices at levels which are reasonable from the point of view of both producers and consumers.

Oil prices did indeed remain low for a good many years, and there was room for upward movement to reflect the cost of bringing on new conventional and non-conventional sources of energy.

We are particularly concerned to ensure that action is taken to prevent the economic collapse of those developing countries heavily dependent on imports of oil. An overall increase in the flow of development aid, bilaterally and through multilateral institutions, is urgently required from major traditional donors and from those who have benefited from increased oil revenues, together with a reassessment of the geographic allocation and the composition of aid programs, both bilateral and multilateral in the light of the differing effects on developing countries of those higher oil prices.

The current uncertainty as to the prospective level of world oil prices makes it, of course, extremely difficult to extrapolate the effects of the situation even over a one year period. However, certain inescapable facts confront us. Almost three quarters of the developing countries do not produce their own energy supplies. Based on oil demand projections calculated prior to October 1973, those countries might expect to pay for their oil imports in 1974 triple the amount they paid for oil imports in 1973. The resulting foreign exchange costs could surely not be borne without cutting back severely on other essential imports or running down already limited exchange reserves.

The amount of aid extended to all developing countries was approximately twice their estimated oil import bill in 1972. By contrast, in 1974 the oil import bill for all LDCs could approach twice the 1972 aid level. In dollar terms, the 1972 oil import bill for these countries was \$3.7 billion. In 1974 they will have to pay at least \$15 billion. In some individual cases, such as that of India, the added costs will completely offset the flow of development assistance from all quarters. It is, of course, misleading to generalize on the effects of increased oil prices on the seventy odd oil importing LDCs. These effects will vary depending on the nature of their economies and the movement of other import and export prices. Certain major fast growing exporters may be better able to withstand increased costs. Populous countries of slow export growth, yet with a growing industrial base catering to domestic needs, will be particularly hard hit. The gravest indirect effect of the oil situation is likely to be in the agricultural sector of developing countries. Fertilizers and pesticides which have been so necessary for the success of the "green revolution" are energy intensive products and there is already a growing shortage of fertilizer.

For some time now, fertilizer production has been inadequate to meet demand and new capacity has not been built at a sufficient rate. This shortfall, combined with growing demand for food, means that food grains are almost certain to remain in short supply, and the developing countries will have to spend considerably more for their imports of a number of essential commodities. To cite a few examples: the price of wheat has increased sharply over the past two years from \$86 a metric ton in 1972 to \$210 today -- an increase of 146 percent. Rapeseed went up from \$130 a ton to \$300. Prices of other commodities and products, and of services such as transportation have shot up as well. Potash fertilizers have gone up 71 percent in one year. Prices of lead and zinc have almost doubled in the last 12 months and fabricated steel has risen to \$800 a ton from \$500 a year ago.

The full significance of these price increases is only apparent when actual quantities likely to be shipped are taken into account. A few years ago, for example, we shipped roughly 600,000 tons of wheat to India at a cost of \$40 million. A similar shipment today would cost \$128 million. Looking at our food aid program as a whole, the cost of providing the identical quantity (roughly 750,000 tons) of food that was made available to developing countries two years ago under our program has risen by 123 percent -- from \$81 million in 1972/73 to \$181 million in 1974/75 without taking account of shipping costs which have also risen by over 100 percent during the same period.

Canada is already on record as being against any cutback in aid flows. At the energy conference in Washington in February, my colleagues and I went still further, taking a leading part in getting the conference to endorse a statement in the official communiqué that a strenuous effort must be made "to maintain and enlarge the flow of development aid bilaterally and through multilateral institutions, on the basis of international solidarity embracing all countries, with appropriate resources."

Here in Canada the Government is exploring several approaches:

1. The use of our membership in the various multilateral institutions including the regional development banks to encourage and support a reassessment of lending programs, enabling a redirection of resources to those developing countries that are most severely affected by the increases in oil prices.
2. We have requested legislative authority for Canada's contribution to the fourth replenishment of the funds of the International Development Association (IDA). This is the arm of the World Bank on which the very poorest countries depend for development assistance. It provides loans on the most concessional terms, usually at zero interest.
3. Bilaterally, CIDA programs will be adapted to the new situation wherever appropriate. Some countries have already stated their most pressing needs and the World Bank has also identified some areas where assistance is urgently needed.

Clearly, CIDA will need not only more money but also a great deal of adroitness in adapting Canada's development assistance to offset some of the adverse effects of recent dislocations, while continuing to maintain the momentum of development in those countries of the Third World with which we have well-established relationships.

United Nations General Assembly -- Special Session

The energy price question is coming to a head at a period when terms of trade have shifted significantly in favour of primary commodity producers. The demand generated by high levels of industrial activity during the past two years, reinforced by inflation, has driven the prices of minerals and agricultural products to unprecedented levels. The earnings developing countries as a whole derive from high commodity prices far outweigh the transfer of resources to them

by way of development assistance. Thus, to some extent at least, the health and vigour of the world economy, including particularly the maintenance of strong demand for commodities, is more important to the oil importing developing countries than the maintenance of development assistance.

The situation I have just described is particularly relevant to the Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the issue of raw materials and development which will start on April 9.

As both an important producer and consumer of natural resources -- renewable and non-renewable -- Canada has a deep interest in ensuring the maintenance of markets, of orderly supply, reasonable prices for both producer and consumer, and the best use of the world resources both in domestic terms and internationally.

While it is likely that agricultural commodities and food supply problems will be discussed to some extent at the forthcoming Special Session they will be at the centre of the World Food Conference which will take place in Rome next November.

World Food and World Population Conferences

The relationship of resources, food and population is obvious. Within a space of twenty-five years, the world's population is expected to reach a figure of 6 billion. To underline the common concern about this problem, 1974 has been designated World Population Year. A World Population Conference will be held in Bucharest in August. The Conference will examine the relations between population and economic and social development, resources and environment. These are questions of the first importance to all countries. The Government has initiated major preparations for Canada's participation. The CILM, in conjunction with the Family Planning Federation and the Inter-Church Project on Population, will be holding a series of meetings across Canada beginning this week. The provinces will also be consulted in the final preparations for the Canadian delegation's brief.

Changing demand and consumption patterns and the aggravation of the supply situation by natural causes are already such that food reserves are being run down at an alarming rate and starvation conditions already exist in some parts of Africa. The shortfall in production in the Asian sub-continent is this year expected to reach serious proportions. Shortages of fertilizer and the high cost of other agricultural inputs can only serve to aggravate the situation, particularly in the developing countries which have struggled to attain some measure of self-sufficiency.

Canada will look to the World Food Conference to marshal opinion and forces for a concerted and coherent attack on the problem.

Canada is an important food producer and exporter and we have in the past been a major provider of emergency supplies in times of world need. Although we are in effect a marginal supplier of world food requirements, we will continue to do our part in improving production and providing emergency aid. But the real nub of the problem lies in capitalizing on the food production potential of the developing countries where the worst food supply situations will arise. The

Food Conference must place its main emphasis on the building of agricultural productivity in the developing countries.

The role and the financing of future food aid will also have to be re-examined in the light of rising commodity prices and short supply. We shall have to aim at greater coordination of food stocks on the international plane which would encourage growth of these stocks outside the food-exporting countries.

Diversification of Canada's Relations

Last year I spoke at some length of the three broad directions which were open to us in the balance of our relations between the United States and other countries. I said that the Government had opted for a long term strategy to develop and strengthen the Canadian economy and other aspects of our national life, and in the process, to reduce the present Canadian vulnerability.

This process of diversifying our foreign relations has continued in the last year, both across the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Western Europe

The Government welcomes the fact that the "constructive dialogue" promised Canada by the nine members of the European Community at the Paris Summit meeting of October 1972 has now entered what might be called its creative phase. The most important development in recent months has been the invitation of the Nine to Canada to make its views known on how its relations with them might be collectively defined. This invitation did not just happen. It is a result of our increased efforts over the past several years to add to the substance of Canada/West Europe relations and to create a greater awareness among our European partners, of Canada's specific and distinct personality, as well as of its problems and aspirations as a North American country with uniquely close relations with Europe.

Canada's response to the Nine's invitation, which I hope to have completed before long, will be in line with the Government's policy of diversification. The Government is very much intent on achieving, as a priority objective, stronger and more dynamic ties with the Community as a collective entity, and with each and every one of its member states.

The emergence of a strong, united and friendly European Community corresponds to the fundamental interests of Canada. As the Nine and the USA are our two major allies and trading partners, it is of vital importance to Canada that there should be the widest possible measure of cooperation and understanding with them and also, I must say, between them. I have no illusions about the difficulties of such an ambitious endeavour as the harmonizing of relations between two major entities like the USA and the European Community in periods of peace and prosperity. For its part Canada's stake in the success of this endeavour is considerable. It is an important prerequisite for our security and continued well-being.

We have for some years regarded our NATO membership as going well beyond a concern for some narrow definition of security. We see the organization as an indispensable forum for the common pursuit of political aims of détente and the harmonization of views on a whole range of issues. NATO has never been more

active in this field than at the present time.

Canada will continue, therefore, to play a useful role in the elaboration within NATO of a declaration flowing from Dr. Kissinger's initiative of April 23 last year, which has the aim of revitalizing the solidarity of the Alliance. At the same time, the Government will continue to work in the context of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) towards the lowering of barriers which impede the freer movement of persons, ideas, information and trade between the East and the West. If agreement is reached on satisfactory provisions in these and other areas, the final stage of the conference will take place in Helsinki in the course of this summer at ministerial or higher level. Simultaneously, Canada is participating in the talks going on in Vienna on the Mutual and Balanced Forces Reduction between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries.

Canada became a full-fledged member of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe in July 1973 enabling it to make an increasingly valuable contribution to the work of this important United Nations body. On the strictly bilateral plane, the traditionally good relations which we are enjoying with the individual West European states are developing quite substantively in many fields. I have in mind the fruitful and concrete cooperation which is emerging from the cultural as well as scientific and technological agreements we have with a number of them.

Finally, I should like to refer to the exchange of visits between Canadian parliamentarians and their colleagues from the European parliament. The Government welcomes this development which adds to the stimulating link, which has already existed for several years, with the 17 member nations of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Eastern Europe

Relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe have continued to develop. The main challenge now is not so much to expand relations further -- although this may be possible -- but to build on the foundations that have been laid. This challenge is perhaps less exciting but no less demanding than the one we faced a few years ago when we were trying to find new areas for cooperation. I remain convinced of the desirability of good relations, on the basis of reciprocity, with these countries. This serves not only Canada's bilateral interests but should also be seen as a contribution to détente.

Japan

When I spoke to you in May last year, I said that we had been attempting to "politicize" a bilateral relationship with Japan which had, in the past, been too narrowly commercial. I have met twice since that time with my Japanese counterpart to discuss matters of mutual interest. Canadian officials have conducted various informal talks with their Japanese colleagues and I am glad to be able to report that there has been an increasing trend toward consulting with the Japanese on world issues.

Japan is our second largest trading partner. Japanese investment could play an important role in furthering Canadian development objectives and in this

context, we welcome it. Discussions with Canadian officials and their Japanese counterparts now take place in an impressive number of economic-related fields -- science and technology, atomic power, minerals and energy, to name a few. Other areas, where less formal discussion now takes place, are being looked at to see whether it is not possible to initiate more regular and structured contact.

We shall have an opportunity of reviewing the whole range of our relationships at the Seventh Meeting of the Canada/Japan Ministerial Committee which is expected to take place in the near future.

China

The high point in the past year in our developing relationship with China was undoubtedly the official visit made by the Prime Minister last October, the fruits of which included a trade agreement, understandings on consular relations and reunification of Chinese-Canadian families and negotiation of exchanges in fields as diverse as medicine, trade, culture, and sport; in addition, exchanges were agreed in the fields of science and technology, following upon the visit to China of the Minister of State for Science and Technology just prior to the Prime Minister's visit. In view not only of our growing trade relationship but also of the expanding and mutually beneficial contacts in the human field, I think we can anticipate that the momentum of this very fruitful relationship, with a nation populated by a quarter of the world's people, will be successfully maintained.

Canada - U.S. Relations

My report to this Committee would not be complete without some reflections on our relations with the United States. These have improved considerably during the past year and I should like to review the reasons and the prospects ahead.

To obtain the proper perspective one must look beyond bilateral matters. First, there has been the rapid and imaginative reorientation in U.S. foreign policy since the elaboration of the Nixon Doctrine a few years ago. A policy of negotiation has been substituted for confrontation of the cold war period. The ensuing rapprochement with the Soviet Union and the contacts with China contain enormous possibilities. Areas of détente, disarmament and exchanges are now being explored across formerly closed frontiers. The U.S. has withdrawn from Viet-Nam. It is deeply engaged in bringing a peaceful solution to the Middle East. Many international institutions, arrangements and relationships are being adjusted. The post war period has ended; its structures are being modified in what clearly is a new period.

The posture of the USA on many international issues is similar to our own. Our perceptions of what the new political, trading and monetary environment requires have many points in parallel.

Secondly, there is the bilateral dimension. The introduction of the New Economic Policy by the U.S.A. on August 15, 1971 has profound effects in Canada. A number of essentially shorter term issues introduced uncertainties about our longer term relationship. However, the Canadian response has been both measured and reflective. I conducted a series of policy studies in order to put our relationship into a new perspective. I outlined to the Committee last year

the options facing Canada. We have since had a number of bilateral consultations at the ministerial and official level, including those I have had with Dr. Kissinger. These have helped to clarify a number of aspects of the new relationship on both sides.

This better climate has also been brought about by the resiliency of the American economy and by the turnaround in the U.S. balance of payments. The consequence of these developments is that the trade and economic irritants of a few years ago seem less immediate.

There are nevertheless several areas of great importance for both Canada and the United States such as the resource, economic and environmental sectors, where the formulation and implementation of our respective national policies will not necessarily coincide. Close consultation and mature consideration are necessary to ensure American understanding of policies likely to affect their interests.

On one hand, the elaboration of a Canadian energy policy must, for instance not only take our own long-term requirements into account but also the consequences of the United States' intention to become self-sufficient by 1980. On the other hand, the Canadian desire to develop mineral resources at its own pace and to encourage further processing in Canada may not entirely accord with the United States' desire for rapid exploitation of known resources, an accelerated programme of exploration for unproven resources, and the importation of resources in increasing amounts and in their raw form.

The United States will remain Canada's major economic partner for the foreseeable future. The trend, in fact, points toward an increase in trans-border trade. From this, we can expect problems to occur, along with the obvious benefits. To ensure that the problems will not unbalance our relationship, we shall rely on the habit of consultation and timely explanation.

Like resource and economic policy, environmental questions have a direct and immediate impact upon the populations of both countries. Perhaps for this reason, Canada and the United States have for over 65 years been innovators in dealing with bilateral environmental problems. From the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, through the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement of 1972, our two nations have worked out responsibilities, obligations and courses of action that are precedents in international terms. As technological capability grows, and as resource requirements increase, there is an accompanying need for new measures to protect our physical and ecological environment. The examples are many: weather modification projects in one country that could affect the other; trans-boundary air pollution problems; tanker traffic along our coastlines; pipelines through the tundra; the proposed flooding of the Skagit Valley; the Garrison Diversion Project. These challenges require answers on the part of government. It is not unexpected that in the realization of certain jointly agreed goals, such as the cleanup of the Great Lakes, we will face difficulties.

In summary, we are in a new phase of our relations with the U.S. in which both countries are adjusting to new conditions abroad and more affirmative national policies at home.

Humanitarian Aid for Southern Africa

The Canadian people, through successive governments, have made it very clear that they abhor the racist and colonialist policies existing in Southern Africa. The present Canadian Government fully shares this view. Reflecting this concern, the Canadian Government has already contributed funds to several programmes of the United Nations and Canadian and international voluntary bodies designed to assist the victims of these policies in Southern Africa. Canadian aid has been channelled mainly to assist refugees from Southern Africa and to provide scholarships. The total amount during the present fiscal year is approximately \$302,000.

The Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Ottawa in August, 1973 agreed on the need to give humanitarian assistance to the indigenous people in Southern Africa struggling to achieve human dignity and the right to self-determination.

In the spirit of the final communiqué of the Commonwealth Conference, the Canadian Government undertook to broaden the current aid programme for the African people residing in Southern Africa.

I announced that we were considering such a programme when I addressed the United Nations General Assembly on September 25, 1973. This new policy would mean helping the people who on a daily basis suffer from racist and colonialist injustices. Under this programme, CIDA would consider requests for contribution from reputable Canadian non-governmental organizations and international bodies for projects of a humanitarian nature in Namibia, Rhodesia, the Portuguese African territories and South Africa. The projects clearly would not be practical without at least the tacit concurrence of the local authorities in the particular regions concerned. Moreover CIDA, in consultation with External Affairs, would also be able to consider requests from Canadian, United Nations and other international bodies for humanitarian aid to (a) peoples in "liberated areas" in Southern Africa and (b) peoples from the white-ruled territories who have taken refuge in adjacent African countries. Here again, no projects would be feasible without the agreement of whoever is in de facto control of a particular area where a project is located.

All such projects would have to be of a humanitarian or developmental nature. We would require firm assurances that the aid is utilized for purely peaceful purposes involving strict accountability by sponsoring bodies for any CIDA funds. There is no intention to make funds directly available to the liberation movements. Under no circumstances would there be any arms or cash granted. As it is intended to help as many Africans as possible who are suffering from injustices, it is obvious that the ultimate recipients will include both those who are politically militant and those who are not. The test is not the political militancy of the recipients but the peaceful and humanitarian nature of the project itself.

To refuse humanitarian aid to people who happen to be politically militant would be discriminatory. I see no reason why Canada should indulge in such discrimination, especially since such people will have a key place in the future of those areas. It would be against Canada's traditions and interests to ignore the needs of these potential leaders in their communities for education, medical care and other basic human requirements.

Our aid would go to sponsoring bodies which have in mind medical, educational, agricultural, or other humanitarian projects. For example, one current such proposed project would provide university and secondary school scholarships for African Rhodesians to study in existing Rhodesian educational institutions.

I reject the proposition that providing humanitarian aid to oppressed people should be avoided on the basis that it supposedly represents a form of interference in other countries' affairs.

The questions of Namibia, the Portuguese African territories, apartheid in South Africa and Rhodesia have been the subject of continued concern in the United Nations for many years now. The overwhelming majority of U.N. members, including Canada and other Western states has condemned the policies that deny human dignity and self-determination to the large majority in Southern Africa who happen to be black. The international community has acknowledged that it has a responsibility to seek social justice and self-determination for the people in that area of the world and this acknowledgement was made crystal clear in the final communiqué of the recent Commonwealth Conference which Canada hosted.

I find the argument that by providing peaceful assistance to needy people we indirectly release funds for violent objectives not entirely without substance, but on the whole rather specious and really an excuse for doing nothing. By this logic every time we help starving people in one or another region of the world, we make it possible for the government in these countries to increase their military budget.

The Government does not support violence to solve the current conflicts in Southern Africa. However, I trust that all members of parliament are concerned about the flagrant injustices in Southern Africa. We must do something more to demonstrate our support for the millions of people in Southern Africa who are denied the right to choose their own future in a free and open society. Peaceful humanitarian aid is one tangible method of demonstrating where we stand on the issues of racist and colonialist injustices.

The Committee will, I hope, provide an opportunity for those like church groups who are providing humanitarian aid -- and who will be seeking supplementary funds from the Government out of the estimates now before you -- to appear and describe their work.

Canada and the World Community

I have mentioned the global implications of the oil and food shortages and the implications for trade and aid policies. I have spoken of the diversification of our international relations. But underlying our view of the problems facing Canada and the relationships which we are developing must be a constantly updated appreciation of what we are, in terms of our geography, our physical assets and our place, morally and intellectually, in the world community.

Canada is of course a Western industrialized country. Without close cooperation between such countries, there is little hope of developing just and orderly procedures for the more equitable sharing of the world's wealth, particularly those resources in short supply, and for the control of inflation. Disarray in the West could have short term or windfall benefits for some Third World countries,

but in the long run the consequences would be wasteful, disruptive and dangerous for all countries.

Canada is also a developing country, but unlike most Western or industrialized countries, a major producer of resources. In this sense Canada has many interests in common with other producers, including stable markets, a reasonable price structure, and a growing capacity to subordinate international business decisions to the national interest. But while most producer countries are comparatively poor, Canada is not. We enjoy the third highest standard of living in the world. Moreover, while Canada is more nearly self-sufficient in key natural resources than any other country in the world except the USSR, we depend more than most countries on trade for our prosperity and particularly trade within the U.S.A.

This dependence, both on trade and high living standards, as well as the producer-consumer character of our economy, gives a special incentive to Canada to be active in preventing trade confrontations and devising machinery for cooperation. In this context I agree with the recent remark of Mr. Maurice Strong that "Canada first cannot mean Canada only."

This country has a proud record of international achievement. Canadians would not wish, nor does this government intend, to let that record become an historical curiosity. The international social and economic challenges of today call for new concepts and habits of international behaviour, just as the international political circumstances of the late 40's called for and provoked new ways of keeping the peace. Now, as then, this country is in a strong position. We have taken advantage of that position to pioneer new concepts of international law, particularly of course for the Law of the Sea. We are beginning now to focus our attention on international resource management, partly because it is in our interest to do so, but also because it is in the international interest to find solutions to global problems. Indeed, we have no choice. Canada's good fortune will be short lived if it is not accompanied by a sense of responsibility for the fortunes of others.

Without international agreement on such matters as resource conservation, population planning and food distribution, many, perhaps a majority, of the world's people face a grim future.

There is no basic obstacle to such agreement and cooperation, given the leadership of those countries both able and willing to lead, and provided that the world can continue to avoid a general war. For want of something better as a means of avoiding such a war, we shall have to continue to rely on the system of mutual deterrence constructed in the 1950's and '60's. While no one can guarantee its continued success, the tensions of yesterday are no longer our primary concern. It is not the least hopeful sign that the old political and ideological East/West divisions are irrelevant to the solution of the new global challenges, with their strong North/South elements. These latter challenges require, and may even promote, cooperation between East and West to the mutual benefit of all.

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NOTES FOR A
LUNCHEON ADDRESS BY
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP

TO THE FACULTY OF LAW,
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA,
OTTAWA
APR 1974
FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 1974

(TEXT)

I am honoured and very happy at this opportunity to speak to the Common Law Section of the Law Faculty of the University of Ottawa. Since the Common Law Section was set up some 17 years ago, my Department has had close and mutually useful relations with you. These include lectures and even courses given by members of the External Affairs Legal Bureau, the loan of books, provision of texts, and seminars by faculty members for the officials of my Department. We have had a similar close working relationship for many years with your colleagues on the Civil Law side.

The cross-fertilization between Government and the academic community is an essential process. The dialogue which has been established helps, I think, your academic community to focus on current problems of law as seen by government. At the same time, the ideas and analyses coming from the academic side, are an important part of the process of evolving the underlying philosophies, which must be clearly and fully developed before practical policies can be formulated.

In looking over the alma maters of the officers of my Department, I am rather surprised to find that there are only two graduates on the common law side who have entered External Affairs. I would hope that more of you might consider a career in the Foreign Service, where your legal training will be of great value at this stimulating time of new and evolving concepts of international law. I hope you will give this possibility some thought.

(TRANSLATION)

The University of Ottawa is unique in Canada and even has a rather special place in the world as a whole, because of its bilingual and bicultural character. This particular element is underlined in a striking way in the Faculty of Law where, at the same time, lawyers are trained in civil law as well as common law.

In the Department of External Affairs, we do not regard bilingualism solely as being a fundamental requirement in the framework of the Canadian Confederation. We also see it as an essential tool of our trade. A Canadian diplomat who has a knowledge of our two languages is able to communicate with the great majority of his foreign colleagues and of officials of other governments. French and English, when one or the other is not the first language of a country, is certainly the second. In this way, our double heritage is a valuable asset in our foreign relations.

(TEXT)

I would like to discuss with you a question which lies broadly in the legal domaine and which has assumed great importance for Canadians, especially since the 2nd World War. Since the late 1940's, many millions of Canadians have taken the habit of travelling throughout the world. The statistics show that we are a highly peripatetic people. There are over 2 million valid Canadian passports in circulation and we expect to issue another 500,000 this year. Traditionally, of course, the great majority of the millions of Canadians who travel annually to the United States do so without a passport.

Many of these travellers have come to know their way about the world, and especially their way about the many administrative and legal requirements of foreign travel. At the same time, there are a great many young people and others who, every year, set out to discover for themselves the world they live in. This is a very important phenomenon. I have often spoken about Canadian dependence on world trade and on our knowledge of events and changing circumstances in other countries. These very often have direct consequences for our own well-being and security. I think it natural, therefore, for Canadians to want to see something of this world, every corner of which becomes ever more accessible through the development of newer and more rapid forms of transportation.

Canada's businessmen also travel abroad in ever greater numbers, to seek and develop new markets and to strengthen and diversify traditional ones. It is one of the most fundamental jobs of Canada's representatives abroad to protect the interests of Canadian citizens in foreign countries and to assist them in their dealings with the commercial, the sporting, the academic, the cultural communities and other interests, of other countries.

The need to protect foreign travellers and foreign communities established in other countries has been recognized since earliest times. The Greeks and other Eastern Mediterranean peoples developed in the centuries before Christ a system which is not unlike modern consular representation. These early consuls were to a greater or a lesser degree the focal point of the foreign communities in other countries. They settled disputes, they witnessed contracts, they performed a wide range of activities which we would today consider as consular legal assistance. In view of the nature of the foreign communities which they served, their orientation was largely commercial, with the law of contracts playing an important part.

This consular function was quite apart from the diplomatic role of Ambassadors, who represented the Head of one state directly in the capital of another. In recent times the diplomatic and consular functions have come together somewhat, although differences remain. But their origins are essentially the same. Their functions sprang from the basic need of different communities and cultures to enter into a dialogue with one another. Early writers on diplomatic and consular practice maintained that the foreign envoy was the direct descendant of the angels, the original messengers between heaven and earth. I am sure my officials console themselves with that thought in the more difficult and discouraging moments of their careers.

My purpose is not to give you a history lesson, but, rather, to describe conditions today. The many Canadians who travel abroad have every reason to expect good service from Canadian representatives abroad. At the same time it is important that there is an understanding of the limits of what our representatives can do.

In an earlier era of strong-willed imperial powers, these would frequently back up their consular and other demands by a show of force -- by gunboat diplomacy. But in the world of today, these tactics are really no longer acceptable.

In their place, there exists a generally accepted body of the rights and duties of foreign consuls. The assistance which foreign consular or diplomatic representatives in another country can give to their nationals, in general, is still based on longstanding international custom. More recently, the rights and duties of foreign representatives and of the states receiving them have been codified in the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations of 1961 and 1963 and, of course, in a number of bilateral agreements between nations. Because the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations contains certain provisions which involve provincial jurisdiction, the Government of Canada is not yet in a position to become a party to that Agreement. However, the Agreement is essentially a declaration containing general and long standing international law concepts with which Canadian consular practice is largely in conformity.

Article 5 of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations specifies the various internationally accepted consular functions, including: "Protecting in the receiving State the interests of the sending State and of its nationals, both individuals and bodies corporate, within the limits prescribed by international law". These limits referred to, have to do with the principle that States are sovereign entities and that the laws, customs and regulations of a particular country have no external status or authority, and thus do not apply inside another state.

This is a fundamental limitation which is important for Canadians travelling abroad to understand.

Canadian citizens residing or travelling in other countries are subject to the laws and regulations of those countries just as foreign citizens residing or travelling in Canada are subject to Canadian laws and regulations. When such persons run afoul of foreign laws and regulations, they must expect to be dealt with in accordance with local procedures and practices, just as foreign citizens in violation of laws in Canada will be dealt with in accordance with Canadian laws and regulations.

Unfortunately, many countries have laws, regulations and legal procedures which might seem severe, and even harsh by Canadian standards. Some countries, for example, permit almost unlimited detention without charges, pending an investigation of a case. Severe punishments are often imposed, particularly for trafficking in, or use of narcotics; conditions of detention, while perhaps considered adequate by local standards, are sometimes far below what we would consider to be even minimum standards in Canada.

Legally and officially, all that Canadian representatives abroad can usually do when a Canadian citizen becomes involved with the law in a foreign country is to ensure that he or she is treated no less fairly than other foreign nationals, or than the citizens of that country would be treated in similar circumstances; and to ensure that appropriate legal counsel is obtained.

Unofficially, Canadian representatives abroad can, and do, go much further. They can often assist by making representations to local authorities to consider possible mitigating circumstances; to speed up otherwise slow

judicial processes; and to appeal for leniency on appropriate humanitarian grounds, to the extent which local law and practice permit.

Of course, relatively few Canadians encounter difficulties with the laws of other countries. This is a testimony to their understanding of what it means to be a visitor in another country. Most cases which arise, happily, are dealt with quietly and effectively by our consular officers; the few cases that prove really difficult and sometimes beyond our control are, of course, the ones that draw public attention.

Canadians, upon being detained by the local authorities abroad, can normally inform our Embassies or Consulates of their arrest. In rendering assistance, my officials, rather like doctors or lawyers, endeavour to respect their confidences. Foreign governments are under no obligation to inform our representatives when a Canadian is in custody, unless the person detained so requests, or our representative makes an inquiry. Nonetheless, most foreign governments do notify our representatives when a Canadian is in custody.

Whenever our Embassies and Consulates abroad are notified that Canadian citizens have been arrested or are otherwise in difficulty with the local laws, they immediately seek information about the person concerned, and the charges being laid, if any. One of the most important rights is that of consular access. This is so that our representatives can ascertain, and respond to, the individual's wishes regarding legal counsel, notification of next-of-kin, and other specific requests he may have.

It can sometimes happen that the individuals in question, for various reasons of their own, do not want Canadian representatives or their own relatives to be aware of their situation. They might request the local authorities not to notify our people. There are, therefore, instances where we do not know about the predicament a Canadian is in. Or we learn about it only later, and perhaps even by accident. Sometimes, the individual concerned decides, in time, to request assistance after all.

There is an understandable concern and sympathy on the part of other Canadians when a fellow Canadian, or perhaps a family member, is in legal difficulties abroad. When local laws and procedures are more rigorous or harsh than those that apply in Canada, there can be even greater concern and a feeling that an injustice is being perpetrated and that the Government and my Department should "do something about it." I fully understand and sympathize with this sentiment.

But our dealings with other governments on these matters must be carried out within the guidelines of international law and accepted international practice, which I have outlined. Canada would not tolerate attempts by foreign governments to interfere in our own judicial processes on behalf of their nationals, nor would we take kindly to outraged or intemperate criticisms of our judicial practices.

I sometimes receive suggestions that we take drastic action toward this or that government. I am urged to sever trade or aid relations with a country which is not treating one of our citizens in accordance with our standards. I

am told that we should make our concern known through highly publicized demands and threats. Most Canadians would agree, on reflection, I think, that such emotional response not only would not have the desired effect of relieving the immediate problem, but even if it were possible and not contrary to our bilateral or multilateral obligations, it would only exacerbate the general relationship between the country concerned and Canada. More particularly, it would also cut across our diplomatic efforts to resolve the situation. It might even create fresh difficulties for other Canadians living or travelling in that country.

Special problems can arise in connection with naturalized Canadians or, in some cases, native-born Canadians of naturalized parents who may be regarded by the country of their birth, or their parents' birth, still to be citizens of those countries. These "dual nationals," are considered subject to the laws concerning taxation, military service, and so on, of their country of origin. Often the authorities in the countries concerned refuse to entertain any representations and insist on their laws being applied -- an attitude which may be quite consistent with international law and practice, but which we usually try to suggest, may not make for the best relations between ourselves and them. This problem exists with a wide range of countries, in Western and Eastern Europe, in South America, in Asia. Recently, there have been a number of cases involving United States citizenship. Under United States law all male persons born in that country of Canadian parents, and who are therefore dual nationals, are required to register for Universal Military Service immediately upon attaining the age of 18, whether or not they are present in that country. Where such dual United States-Canadian citizens neglect to comply with such procedure they are liable to prosecution upon re-entering the United States. The same requirements for registration at age 18 and liability to prosecution for non-compliance apply to all Canadian male children who are permanent residents of the U.S.A. In such complex cases, our representatives make contact with the Canadian involved, when they are aware of his predicament, but there is little direct help that they can give. As I have said, these problems are not confined to the United States.

I do not want to leave you with the impression that our consular officials spend their time visiting jails full of Canadians, who in their innocence have contravened some obscure foreign regulation. This is a relatively rare occurrence.

Canadian officials are there to help in many other circumstances. Deaths and illnesses occur while Canadians are abroad; they become injured, they lose money or passports or are victims of robberies. Because of international conflict or local tensions they may require urgent assistance and possibly evacuation from the area. In such cases Canadian representatives give all possible assistance; notifying next-of-kin, arranging for medical attention, providing emergency financial assistance, emergency evacuation, and so on. The vast majority of these situations have happy endings and I receive many letters testifying to this. During the past year, our embassies and consulates abroad provided over 200,000 consular services to Canadians in difficulties or seeking assistance for one reason or another.

These services are also given in happier circumstances: for instance, the registration of the birth of a Canadian abroad. Many of our embassies and missions have facilities for reading Canadian papers and for receiving news bulletins. In this way, Canadians can explore the Taj Mahal or the cathedrals of Europe and still be in touch with the latest struggle for the Stanley Cup, or with the bulls and bears of the Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal exchanges.

The latter activities might well have an important influence on the length of their stay abroad.

In only a very small percentage of these cases has there been any complaint on the part of the person concerned or the next-of-kin. Unfortunately, as I pointed out earlier, it is these few instances which come to public attention and criticism. I welcome such criticism if it concerns errors of omission or commission on our part.

The Government and my Department attach very great importance to the protection of Canadian interests abroad and to the quality of assistance available to Canadians travelling or residing abroad. We shall continue to exert our best efforts to maintain and improve the excellent consular service they already enjoy.

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NOTES FOR A STATEMENT BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
TO THE STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE
ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, OTTAWA,
THURSDAY, MARCH 28, 1974

"CANADA-U.S. RELATIONS"

The relationship Canada has with the United States is unique and by far the most important of our bilateral relationships.

It operates in three main areas:

-- In respect of global, political and security issues which affect Canada, but in which we are not directly involved but where we lend our efforts to a solution. Examples of this are: Viet-Nam and Middle East.

-- In respect of multilateral questions, in which Canada is directly involved and where we may support, seek the support of, or indeed oppose the United States, such as the Law of the Sea.

-- In respect of the many problems which are special to us, where we seek to promote or protect the Canadian interest through mutual accommodation, such as oil and gas export.

Global Situation in the 1970's

The relationship therefore, even in the strictly bilateral area, is significantly affected by developments abroad. It is useful, therefore, to look briefly at what the political scientists call the "international system". The post-war structure of international relationships and institutions is undergoing very important changes in the 70's.

Let me describe these changes under three headings:

First, changing relationships at the political level. The achievement of nuclear parity has led the two super powers -- the United States and the Soviet Union -- to seek appropriate means for stabilizing their relationship. Negotiation has replaced the confrontation of the cold war period. The United States is in the process of complementing the initial SALT Agreement with a second Agreement to cover offensive weapons. Détente is being pursued at both the multilateral level, such as in the Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) talks and at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and at bilateral levels, in augmented commercial, technological and cultural exchanges between East and West.

Diplomatic contact, if not formal diplomatic relations, have been established between Washington and Peking. Regrettably there has not been a similar improvement in relations between Moscow and Peking even though diplomatic relations are formally correct. The United States has withdrawn its combat units from Viet-Nam and is actively pursuing peace in the Middle East with at least the tacit approval of the Soviet Union. Many aspects of traditional defence relationships are in the process of re-examination in the context of the changing international strategic environment.

The second relates to the new functional influences on the international system. These go beyond the traditional concerns over economic or military power we have been accustomed to.

These new influences involve such comparatively new considerations as the recognition of the finiteness of world resources -- and consequently new attitudes on the terms on which these resources will be made available to meet global demand; dangers to the world environment; managing new technology; the power of modern communications; and needs of less developed countries. These factors are major modifiers of the current international scene. Their impact on the international political situation, including on existing political alignments, is only beginning to be felt.

The so-called energy crisis, alone, is a dramatic illustration. It has touched off a spate of attempts at bilateral supply arrangements, which are having their effects on relations between the United States and many of its allies. It has led to attempts, under the sponsorship of the United States to approach the problem as a global one. Canada supported this concept and was instrumental in moving the initial discussions to wider forums, which will include not only LDCs, but producing countries as well. The energy crisis has forced us to re-examine our own position and to take measures to ensure Canadian security of supply. This in turn has required us to enter upon intensive and continuous consultations with the United States on oil exports.

The third heading under which I want to describe changes in the "international system" is international trade and payments. On this, the effect of the energy crisis has been convulsive.

Well before the curtailment of the international supply of crude oil it was abundantly clear that the pattern of international economic relationships had been dramatically altered. Japan had emerged as a major economic force. The European Community had expanded and strengthened to the point of rivalling the United States in global economic terms. Since the introduction by the United States of the New Economic Policy in August 1971, the post-war system based on the Havana Charter and on Bretton Woods has been in the process of restructuring. Until the oil crisis emerged there were encouraging prospects for developing a reformed monetary system at a fairly early date.

Similarly, preparations were well advanced for entering into substantive negotiations in the "Tokyo Round" of tariff and trade negotiations. The price increases for crude oil have had a devastating effect on the balance of payments of a large number of the developing countries and have posed very significant problems for even the wealthiest nations. As a consequence, discussions of the international monetary situation have tended to focus on the question of ensuring stability and of finding means of assisting those countries hardest hit by oil price increases, with less stress on developing a comprehensive reform of the monetary system. With respect to the multi-lateral tariff and trade negotiation, it is not clear at this stage to what extent the "Tokyo Round" will be affected by emerging economic issues such as resource scarcity. In addition to focusing on the reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade in order to improve access to markets, it may become necessary in the course of these negotiations to consider the question of secure access to supplies of oil and other raw materials.

Given these three major elements, the changing international system of which Canada is inextricably a part, will profoundly influence our future. We are therefore engaged in all aspects of it. Our first concern is to protect

Canadian interests, but in the wider, not narrower, sense. Nevertheless, there are limits to the available options. We are exposed to an international environment over which we have incomplete control. But it provides us with opportunities since others, even the great powers, also face constraints. Finally, it conditions significantly our relationship with the United States, which will inevitably be a key player in all important areas.

Canadian Policy and the Current State of Relations with the United States

As this decade got underway, the Government, in response to these changes in the international system, began a foreign policy review which led to a number of innovations, including the development of relations with the Soviet Union, and the recognition of China. There was a time when these measures were misunderstood in the United States. This undoubtedly had implications for bilateral questions. However, the foreign policy changes which flowed from the Nixon Doctrine, and United States rethinking on many of these same questions, has meant that the Canadian and American perceptions of the political and strategic aspects of the external world are again largely in parallel.

Moreover, our views on the larger multilateral trade and payments question are broadly similar during this period of substantial change in the international monetary and trading world.

But the economic relationship between the two countries has greatly changed. Since August 1971, the United States has been pursuing what is called the New Economic Policy. Canada, for its part, has been intent on strengthening its economy, and diversifying its external economic relationships, in order to reduce its vulnerability. We have each acted in response to domestic and international circumstances in pursuing separately our own perspective of our national interest.

Nevertheless, the United States and Canada remain each other's most important customer. In fact the trend for the foreseeable future points towards a continuation of this mutually advantageous situation.

We are no longer at a stage where the trade "irritants" of 1971 - 72 assume so much immediate importance. These have taken on a different perspective when viewed against the energy crisis and other international developments. There has also been a recovery in the United States' balance of payments.

The atmosphere is accordingly very much improved. But the situation is quite different from what it was in the 1960's. As I told the House Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence on March 19, we are in a period of adjustment to many domestic and international circumstances. National policies in both Canada and the United States, in several areas, such as the resources, economic and environmental sectors, will not necessarily coincide.

The Canadian objective is to expand and strengthen the Canadian identity and the Canadian economy.

To this end, our aim internationally will be to endeavour to ensure that any measures adopted will be compatible with our goals. Domestically, if we are to meet our social and economic requirements our industrial

and manufacturing sectors will need to be strengthened. The level of employment will have to increase, so as to be in step with an expanding labour force. Regional disparities must be reduced. This will require Canadian decisions on locating industries in areas where they will most benefit our society as a whole. In the resource sector it will mean the development of mineral resources at our own pace, and the encouragement of further processing in Canada.

Our purpose is not to take unfair advantage, as some have alleged, of the United States, nor to ignore its needs, nor to eliminate a cooperation which has been so beneficial to both countries. Our purpose is to ensure a fair return in terms of our own requirements, and to support the international trade and payments systems.

Similarly, in the environmental field we shall continue to protect essential Canadian rights and interests through the process of consultation and negotiation. Four matters in this area have been the subject of considerable recent public attention. They are:

- The proposed flooding of the Skagit Valley
- The Garrison Diversion
- The West Coast Tankers problem; and the
- Reduction of pollution in the Great Lakes.

In each case, we are pursuing Canadian requirements actively.

While Canadian and United States policies in the multilateral field are largely in parallel, there is nevertheless a need to inform and consult with the United States to ensure that policies and actions affecting each other's interests will not be misunderstood or misinterpreted. For example, our search for balance and diversification in our external relations is leading us to broaden our relations with the European Community. At the same time the United States is taking important initiatives of its own towards the Community and towards the Atlantic Alliance as a whole.

I am very much concerned at the current tension which has arisen between the Community and the United States. The United States and the Community members include our major allies. It is necessary for Canada that the widest possible measure of cooperation and understanding exists with them and also, I must say, between them. We also need to ensure that political cooperation between Canada, the United States and the Community is maintained within the NATO framework not only in the interest of collective defence but in the common pursuit of détente.

Tension and disharmony between the two sides of the Atlantic will inevitably be to Canada's disadvantage. I have for some years been concerned with this problem, and in 1971 drew the attention of both the NATO Council and of the OECD to the danger to the economic and financial environment, and therefore to Canada, of any misunderstanding or lack of consultation on economic questions. The same holds true if there is discord on political questions. The Third Option is based, as I have said, on the diversification of our relations, not on our having to choose between our major partners and allies.

Furthermore, equilibrium must be restored in the world trading and payments systems. Otherwise economic management, both by government and by private industry, in Canada and in other trading countries, will be severely hampered. This equilibrium cannot be brought about in circumstances when the major trading nations on the two sides of the Atlantic are, as they seem at present unable to take fully into account each other's requirements.

Similarly, our current efforts to explore with the Japanese new avenues for fruitful cooperation in economic and other matters should be seen as a natural manifestation of our diversification policy. It is also, of course, a response to the new status of Japan in industrial, commercial and also political terms.

Managing the Canada-U.S. Relationship

How should the Canada-U.S. relationship be managed in the period ahead? There exists a range of older and newer bilateral mechanisms on which the Canada-U.S. relationship has relied and continues to rely.

Such mechanisms wax or wane in response to changes in the nature of the relationship. In the period of the 1940's through to the 1960's there was a disposition on both sides to develop joint ministerial bodies for cooperation, particularly in the important fields of economics, trade and defence.

There has been less use of these joint ministerial mechanisms in recent years. Contacts between the ministerial counterparts in the two governments, either directly or through various multilateral meetings, have been a frequent and effective substitute for the more elaborate and more formal joint cabinet committees. Such meetings have, for instance, taken place in the past six months on foreign affairs, finance, trade, energy, environment, and agriculture. There is also greater reliance on standard negotiating practices on an issue by issue basis. This is consistent with the emphasis given by both countries since 1970 to national rather than continentalist policies.

I do not believe that we need be unduly concerned that the joint ministerial mechanisms have not been employed frequently in recent years. We have found other ways to respond effectively and quickly to rapidly changing events. Indeed the relationship is such that we can easily and quickly establish new mechanisms as required -- continuing or ad hoc -- to meet new situations.

In addition, there are important specialized mechanisms. Two notable ones are the unique and now venerable Permanent Joint Board on Defence (PJBD) and the International Joint Commission (IJC). Since its inception some 35 years ago, the role and composition of the PJBD have changed as the nature and requirements of joint defence have changed.

The International Joint Commission is a product of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 65 years ago. It had written into its mandate the potential for a broad role in Canada-U.S. relations. For a considerable period, however, the Commission confined itself mainly to activities related to

regulating of boundary waters. More recently, however, the International Joint Commission has come to assume a much wider role, in a variety of bilateral environmental subjects. It is now and will continue to be a most valuable instrument in helping to manage this sector of our relationship.

We have also, of course, the classical instrument for conducting business between states, our Embassy in Washington, with its network of 15 consular missions located throughout the United States. In recent years, we have been giving priority to building up this network so that it can effectively support the Embassy in promoting and defending the full range of Canadian interests.

For example, increased emphasis is being placed on providing the American public as well as the United States Administration with quick and accurate information on Canada and Canadian policies of interest to Americans. This programme has already paid an important dividend. I believe that it was the energetic public information work of our Embassy and consular missions in the United States in recent months, which did much to head off misinterpretation and misunderstanding by many Americans, of Canadian policy on our oil exports to the United States. The process of strengthening our missions in the United States to meet such demands continues.

To sum up, Mr. Chairman, we are in a new phase of our relations with the United States, in which both countries are adjusting to new conditions abroad and more affirmative national policies at home. In both bilateral and multilateral matters we can expect a period of negotiation and adjustment over a wide range of issues which will need careful handling. There will be a continuing need to select our policies on their own merits in an unemotional, business-like and positive fashion.

Canada Dept of External Affairs
Information Division

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STATEMENT DISCOURS



STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP

"PORTUGAL"

DÉCLARATION DU SECRÉTAIRE
D'ÉTAT AUX AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES,
MONSIEUR MITCHELL SHARP

"PORTUGAL"

(TRANSLATION)



We are particularly pleased that Foreign Minister Soares, despite the many other urgent matters requiring his attention, has been able to come to Canada to participate in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council. During his stay here I have had occasion to discuss thoroughly with him recent developments in Portugal and its overseas territories. I am greatly encouraged by his explanation of the internal changes in Portugal, as well as of the negotiations which have begun between the Government of Portugal and representatives from the Portuguese territories in Africa. The Canadian Government, strongly supported by Canadians generally, extends its encouragement and support to the new Government of Portugal, and to the spokesman for the populations of the territories, in their efforts to reach a peaceful solution to the problem of Portugal's overseas territories. It is our fervent hope that these negotiations will be pursued to a successful conclusion in spite of the serious problems which continue to exist. A negotiated solution would redound to the benefit of the people of Portugal and of the overseas territories and would, I am sure, elicit the respect and admiration of peoples and governments around the globe.

★ ★ ★

Nous sommes particulièrement heureux que le Ministre des Affaires étrangères du Portugal, Monsieur Soares, en dépit des nombreuses affaires urgentes qui le pressent en son pays, ait pu venir au Canada participer à la rencontre du Conseil ministériel de l'Alliance atlantique. Au cours de son séjour ici, j'ai eu l'occasion de m'entretenir sérieusement avec lui des récents développements survenus au Portugal et dans ses territoires d'outre-mer. Je suis fortement encouragé par les éclaircissements qu'il m'a fournis sur les changements survenus au Portugal, de même que sur les négociations entreprises entre le Gouvernement du Portugal et les représentants des territoires portugais en Afrique. Le Gouvernement du Canada, fort de l'appui du peuple canadien, apporte son encouragement et son soutien au nouveau Gouvernement du Portugal et aux porte-parole des populations des territoires dans leur recherche d'une solution pacifique du problème des territoires portugais outre-mer. Nous souhaitons ardemment que ces négociations connaissent une fin heureuse en dépit des graves problèmes qui existent encore. Une solution négociée est dans l'intérêt du peuple du Portugal et des territoires outre-mer et susciterait, j'en suis sûr, le respect et l'admiration des peuples et des gouvernements du monde entier.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
APRIL 3, 1974

STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY
OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS.

SECRÉTAIRE
D'ÉTAT AUX
AFFAIRES
EXTÉRIEURES.



STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE
MITCHELL SHARP, APRIL 3, 1974

"25TH ANNIVERSARY OF NATO"



April 4, 1974, marks the 25th anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty and of the unique association of 15 countries to which this gave rise. The occasion provides an opportunity for us in Canada to review NATO's past accomplishments as well as to reflect on its future.

In looking back over the last 25 years one is struck by the profound changes that have occurred in the circumstances facing the Alliance and the capacity it has demonstrated to respond effectively to a threat to their common security. Although considerable progress has been made on the road towards détente, the members of the Alliance, including Canada, remain convinced that, pending more substantive achievements in the field of disarmament or the establishment of an effective world collective security system, their individual interests are best served by their common commitment to mutual assistance under the North Atlantic Treaty. In support of this collective approach to security, Canada continues to contribute forces to the various elements of NATO's defence activities -- the defence of Europe, the defence of the North Atlantic, and the defence of the Alliance's North American region.

In the meantime, NATO has responded regularly to new tasks that have developed. For some time it has been serving as a forum for the exchange of information and for the harmonization of members' views on a wide range of political issues. This process of continuing consultation is of particular value to smaller Alliance members such as Canada because it gives us direct and immediate access to the thinking of our allies and an opportunity to bring our own views to their attention. More recently, NATO has assumed the major new function of co-ordinating the approach of its members to such important East-West negotiations as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in Geneva and the force reduction talks in Vienna. All of the allies including Canada share a desire to find practical ways to further détente and are satisfied their individual interests in this area are best served by the close harmonization of positions that NATO makes possible.

The late Lester B. Pearson attached considerable importance to Article II of the North Atlantic Treaty which emphasizes the desirability of co-operation amongst Alliance members in fields outside the traditional politico-military sphere. It is therefore gratifying to note that in addition to its role in this area, NATO is making a regular contribution to the search for solutions to problems in fields such as science and the environment that affect the well-being of its members in quite a different way. The approach, which is low key and pragmatic, is based on the idea that NATO's well-established techniques for co-ordination and consultation can usefully be exploited in any area of common concern to its members.

Looking to the future, it seems clear that for some time to come NATO will continue to have a major role to play in furthering the individual and collective interests of its members across a wide range of subjects. For Canada, however, our membership in the Alliance is likely to assume still another dimension in the period ahead. We welcome and support the efforts of our friends in Europe to develop their political and economic

unity. At the same time we are seeking to diversify our own international relations and in this effort the newly emerging Europe will be an area of particular significance for us. As our new relationships with Europe evolve we have every reason to believe that Canadian membership in NATO in common with eight of the nine EEC members will provide opportunities for co-operation in areas of mutual concern.

NATO's capacity of fulfil these useful functions in the period ahead will depend of course on the maintenance of a sense of common purpose and the willingness of its members to find ways to overcome periodic internal differences such as those now being experienced in the field of Atlantic relations. These differences should not be minimized but I am satisfied that the vital interests which the Allies continue to share are of such importance to their individual and collective well-being that, as on similar occasions in the past, the present difficulties can and will be resolved.

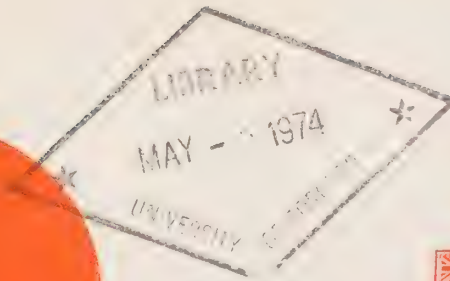
In conclusion, I would like to mention the work of the North Atlantic Assembly. This body, although independent of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as such constitutes an unofficial link between the Alliance and the parliamentarians of member countries. The Assembly, including its Canadian members of parliament, contributes significantly to a better understanding of the vital issues that confront us today.

Original

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NOTES FOR A LECTURE BY
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP

OSGOODE HALL - TORONTO
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3, 1974

DIPLOMACY TODAY --
RECOGNITION, ASYLUM, AND CONSULAR PROTECTION

In the last few years, as Canada's foreign relations have expanded and grown in complexity, there has been an increasing awareness among Canadians of these relations. As more Canadians every year travel abroad, there is a greater appreciation of our overseas activities and a greater interest in them. With this has come -- quite understandably -- a questioning of some of our ways of going about our international business.

It might be useful, therefore, if I describe how the Government sees the purpose of our missions abroad. I want particularly to touch on three related areas, about which there has been a certain amount of discussion in the press and in correspondence to me or to my colleagues in the Government.

These are:

- 1) Recognition of Regimes;
- 2) Consular protection of Canadians; and
- 3) Asylum

Since earliest times, the problem of the protection and advancement of national interests in other countries has been considered an essential national requirement.

From the early Greek writers, especially Thucydides, we have descriptions of the situation which existed in the centuries before Christ in the Eastern Mediterranean, and the methods devised for establishing relations between different communities. The various Greek city states existed in their separate valleys, and in earliest times regarded strangers as being by definition hostile. It was into this unpromising international -- or intercommunal -- atmosphere that the idea was born of sending emissaries or envoys to discuss mutual problems and to resolve disputes.

These early envoys were, at first, often seized and, we are told, cast down wells, before discussions could begin, simply because they were strangers. But the concept that one state might wish to speak with another state by means of an envoy was a very strong one. To overcome the difficulties of establishing this dialogue, a convention became accepted that the persons of these envoys, or heralds as they were called, were sacred. This was the beginning of the idea of diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The diplomat was born of a need of essentially hostile states to find some method of communication. There was an early understanding that national interests transcended borders. It is this same concept -- the need for dialogue -- which prompts the Canadian decision to make arrangements to send representatives to another country. The basic reason for this gesture is a national one; the advancement of the national interest. The most obvious external interest, that is still perhaps the strongest single force in international affairs, is the exchange of goods: in a word, trade.

In its paper "Foreign Policy for Canadians" issued in 1970, the Canadian Government summed up what it meant by foreign policy in these words: "In essence, foreign policy is the product of the Government's progressive definition and pursuit of national aims and interests in the international environment. It is the extension abroad of national policies."

Canada's external interests have grown with our evolving status from colony, to an autonomous part of an empire, through to full independence.

Our posts abroad grew from an initial two, in London and Paris, whose status was something less than that of a full diplomatic mission. Our first true foreign mission was the Legation in Washington established in 1927. From that time on until 1939 a few other legations and embassies were established. But it was not until the 2nd World War that, through our alliances, we saw a great expansion of our diplomatic missions abroad.

Canada emerged from the 2nd World War with considerable economic strength and a new sense of independence. The war had taken many Canadians abroad and had kindled throughout the country a tremendous interest in the world outside Canada's borders.

Canadians became one of the world's most travelled people. Today, there are 2 million valid Canadian passports in circulation and my Department expects to issue another 500,000 this year. This great interest in the world outside our borders stems, I think, from the recognition that Canada depends, perhaps more than most other industrialized states, for its well-being and security on trade and cooperation with others. We also look abroad for the expression of an important element of our national character: a belief in a certain human duty toward others.

All these activities have drawn Canadians to journey abroad. This has required the establishment of a wide and still expanding network of diplomatic and consular missions throughout the world. One of their major purposes is to protect Canadian interests and to assist in the development of the external links in the wide range of fields of contact and cooperation which Canadians seek to develop.

Recognition

In recent months the matter of recognition may have seemed rather metaphysical as even Heads of States which did not recognize each other have managed to meet, issue communiqués, open offices in each other's country and generally do a considerable amount of business. Such exceptional cases, however, have not deprived recognition of its practical value for ordinary day-to-day relations between countries.

Canada, along with other states with a Western legal heritage, subscribes to the principle of the recognition of states, rather than particular governments. This principle follows logically from the early thinking about relations with foreign states that I have described: such and such a state exists; it is in Canada's interest to have relations with it.

On the question, in a situation of violent change, of what government to have relations with, Canada, again along with most Western states, applies a simple test.

--Is the government in question able to exercise control, with a reasonable expectation that it can deal effectively with foreign governments for at least some period of time.

While this act of recognition is essentially legal in nature, the relevance of certain political considerations is recognized in modern international practice. There is, therefore, scope for the exercise of some discretion.

Further questions we ask ourselves are:

--Has the Government in question expressed its willingness to fulfill its international obligations?

--Is it achieving acceptance by a significant number of states, especially those which view recognition broadly as we do?

In case of doubt in the matter of recognition, one must go back to the basic principle, that entering into relations with a state is a question of national interest, and not an act of approbation or a sign of particular friendship.

To illustrate in modern terms the disadvantages of breaking relations in order to show disapproval of policies or actions, we have the various situations that have occurred since the six-day war of 1967 in the Middle East. A number of the Middle Eastern States broke relations with Britain, France and the United States. Nonetheless, these states recognized the need for some form of continuing direct contact. The old practice of another state being designated to look after the interests of those with which relations had been broken, was adapted to fill the need for essentially uninterrupted relations on a broad range of subjects. The original practice involved the mission taking over the interests of a state whose mission had departed, in an occasional presentation of a note, or other communication. Very often, no officials of the departed state remained. This situation was found to be inadequate and a so-called "interests section" was established, under the flag of the protecting state.

It was often housed in the former premises of the departed state, but with a new flag and new plaque on the door. These interests sections were in several cases, very large, and headed by a senior official, even of ambassadorial rank. In fact, one had a full blown diplomatic mission under another name. There were, however, numerous disadvantages. The head of the so-called interests section had no normal right of access to officials and was hampered in a number of ways in the performance of his job.

Short of breaking relations, in a situation where there is no particularly warm regard between states, there are a number of other actions that can be taken to indicate this. Ambassadors may be withdrawn and a less senior official appointed Chargé d'Affaires. The mission can lie low in its social contacts with the regime; it can be represented at official ceremonies and events by a very junior officer. Many signs and symbols can be used. But it is important to use them sparingly since excessive use can give an impression of pettiness and prevent the kind of dealings which should go on between governments in their own interests.

The act of entering into relations with a new regime is also an indication of what exactly is meant by continuing relations. When the decision is taken by the Canadian government to continue relations with a state where there has been a violent change of regime, this is often done by finding some very routine matter and writing a note to the new incumbents. It may be no more than a simple acknowledgement of a circular note from the foreign ministry informing, for instance, that the foreign ministry would be closed on such a date for some local holiday. No fulsome expression about continuing relations is involved, only an indication that "we wish to continue to conduct official business with your country".

It is sometimes not appreciated that the alternative to not recognizing a regime is to pack up and leave. The interests section approach may not always be accepted, and as I have said, it has many disadvantages.

It is my belief also that through contact and dialogue, one is first of all in a better position to know what is really going on in a country and, secondly, one can sometimes have an influence on events. Sharp reactions often provoke obduracy rather than a desired result. Dialogue, although often a long, painful process is, in my view, a more effective method of persuasion.

There is also the rather special case of a newly emerged state. When a former colony achieves independence through negotiation with its former masters, there is no particular problem. It is when there is violence in the relationship and no clear cut break that factors must be weighed. In such situations, Canada applies the basic legal test of control over territory: has in fact a new state emerged, with reasonable assurance of permanence? Is it in a position to assume international obligations? In a civil war or colonial war situation, the answers to these questions must be clear or one may find oneself having recognized a state which subsequently disappears.

There are currently three situations where there are rival claims of jurisdiction. In South Viet-Nam, in Cambodia and in Guinea Bissau or Portuguese Guinea. The latter case is perhaps the one over which there is most controversy, since it is a colonial situation. Canada's views on Portugal's African territories are clear. We have said on many occasions that the continuation of colonial rule in Africa is not compatible with the evolution of events in recent years, nor with the philosophy of human dignity to which the great majority of countries subscribe.

Nonetheless the PAIGC forces in Guinea Bissau are not at the present time able to meet the standard criteria under international law that we accept as the yardstick for the existence of a new state.

Consular protection of Canadian interests

Now that I have described our philosophy of relations between states, I would like to say something about the jobs which our missions abroad can and do perform and also something about the limitations on their actions.

The first requirement for us to be able to do anything for Canadians abroad, is to have a presence in the main areas of Canadian interest. The presence can vary from a very large embassy, with a network of consulates, such as we have in the United States, to an agreement to enter into diplomatic relations. This latter state is short of presence, but through accreditation of officials at other posts, allows for the beginnings of a dialogue and, through visits and the right of calling on ministers and other officials, starts the process of advancing Canadian interests in that country. I am often asked why we don't have missions in this or that country. The reason is the classic one of priorities for limited resources, both financial and human. These priorities are constantly being reassessed and our programme of increasing our missions abroad is modified as necessary by changing circumstances and requirements.

The protection and assistance our missions abroad can give is based on longstanding traditions and conventions. The problem of protection of national communities in foreign countries is not a new one.

It was the Greeks again, and other inhabitants of the Mediterranean, who developed a system not unlike our modern consular offices. The system continued through Roman and Medieval times and some most interesting early documents have been found which lay down codes for the conduct of international trade and the rights of foreigners in other countries. These were elaborated in a time that historians usually refer to as the "Dark Ages".

More recently, the rights and duties of foreign representatives and of the states receiving them, have been codified in the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular relations of 1961 and 1963 and, of course, in a number of bilateral agreements between nations. Because the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations contains certain provisions that involve provincial jurisdiction, the Government of Canada is not yet in a position to become a party to that Agreement. However, the Agreement is essentially a declaration containing general and long-standing international law concepts with which Canadian consular practice largely conforms.

Article 5 of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations specifies the various internationally accepted consular functions, including: "Protecting in the receiving state the interests of the sending state and of its nationals, both individuals and bodies corporate, within the limits prescribed by international law". These limits referred to, have to do with the principle that States are sovereign entities and that the laws, customs and regulations of a particular country have no external status or authority, and thus do not apply inside another state.

This is a fundamental limitation that is important for Canadians travelling abroad to understand.

Canadian citizens residing or travelling in other countries are subject to the laws and regulations of those countries, just as foreign citizens residing or travelling in Canada are subject to Canadian laws and regulations. When persons run afoul of foreign laws and regulations, they must expect to be dealt with in accordance with local procedures and practices, just as foreign citizens in violation of laws in Canada will be dealt with in accordance with Canadian laws and regulations.

It is important, I think, to keep in mind this relationship with our own actions. I recognize that this is not always easy, especially when laws, regulations, and procedures in many countries seem severe and even harsh by Canadian standards. Some countries, for example, permit almost unlimited detention without charges, pending an investigation of a case. Severe punishments are often imposed; conditions of detention, while perhaps considered adequate by local standards, are sometimes far below what we would consider to be even minimum standards in Canada.

Two routes are open to Canadian officials in dealing with situations involving Canadians: the legal and official route and the unofficial one. The first route usually restricts the Canadian representative to ensuring that when a Canadian citizen becomes involved with the law in another country, he or she is treated no less fairly than other foreign nationals, or than the citizen of that country. He can also ensure that the appropriate legal counsel is obtained.

Unofficially, quite often a great deal more can be done: representations to local authorities to consider possible mitigating circumstances; to speed up

otherwise slow judicial processes; and appeals for leniency on appropriate humanitarian grounds, to the extent that local law and practice permit.

One other problem which our representatives face is knowing about a Canadian who is being detained by local authorities. Often, of course, Canadians so detained can inform our embassies or consulates of their arrest. However, foreign governments are under no obligation to inform our representatives when a Canadian is in custody, unless the person detained so requests. Nonetheless, most foreign governments do notify our representatives when a Canadian is in custody.

One of the most important generally recognized rights is that of consular access. This is the right of our representatives to visit the person concerned so that they can ascertain and respond to his wishes regarding legal counsel, notification of next-of-kin, and other specific requests he may have. In rendering assistance, my officials, rather like doctors or lawyers, endeavour to respect confidences.

Of course, some individuals for various reasons of their own, do not want Canadian representatives, or their own relatives, to be aware of their situation. In such instances, we learn about the event only later, and perhaps even by accident, or when on reflection, the Canadian confined decides to request assistance after all.

I quite understand the sympathy expressed by Canadians when a fellow Canadian, or perhaps a family member, is in legal difficulties abroad. When local laws and procedures are more rigorous or harsh than those that apply in Canada, there can be even greater concern, and a feeling that an injustice is being perpetrated. This moves them to call upon the Government and especially my Department to "do something about it".

But as I have suggested earlier, there are constraints on our dealings with other governments on these matters. There are also reasons why we should respect these constraints. In the first place, the guidelines of international law and accepted international practice have been carefully evolved. Sovereignty is the most important concept for the protection of a country from unwarranted interference by another state. But there has grown up a balance between the absolute sovereignty which states claim and the generally recognized rights of other states to be involved in the interests of their citizens abroad.

Canada could not tolerate other governments interfering in our own judicial processes on behalf of their nationals, nor would we take kindly to outraged or intemperate criticisms of our judicial practices.

The 2nd constraint, and one that I consider most important, is the question of effectiveness. We have found that quiet persuasion and unpublicized démarches are extremely effective in many cases. There are two important factors that modify the actions of states in the treatment of foreigners, within the latitude allowed by their laws: one is world opinion and the other the bilateral relationship with the countries of the foreigners concerned. It is often effective for our representatives to note that by not showing some comprehension in a certain case, the general relationship between the country concerned and Canada is damaged.

I sometimes receive suggestions that we take drastic action toward this or that government; that we sever trade or aid relations; or that we should make our concern known through highly publicized demands and threats. This seems to me to be a sort of verbal "gunboat diplomacy" which Canadians will surely consider obsolete.

I ask the persons involved whether the important thing is the public assertion of our position, or the relief of the immediate problem. Most Canadians would agree, on reflection, that the important thing is to resolve the question. Public declarations of righteousness are a luxury that one can dispense with.

Another factor is that any unnecessary publicity concerning a question can often cut across our diplomatic efforts to resolve the question, and can create fresh difficulties for other Canadians living or travelling in that country.

I have spoken at some length of difficulties with foreign laws but there are also a great many other circumstances in which Canadian officials can be of help.

Deaths and illness occur while Canadians are abroad; they become injured, they lose money or passports or are victims of robberies. Because of international conflict or local tensions they may require urgent assistance and possibly evacuation from the area. In such cases, Canadian representatives give all possible assistance; notifying next-of-kin, arranging for medical attention, providing emergency financial assistance, emergency evacuation, and so on. The vast majority of these situations have happy endings and I receive many letters testifying to this. During the past year, our embassies and consulates abroad provided over 200,000 consular services to Canadians in difficulties or seeking assistance for one reason or another.

Services are also rendered in happier circumstances: the registration of the birth of a Canadian abroad; helping a foreign bride of a Canadian to come to Canada; making available Canadian papers and news bulletins about events at home.

Perhaps before concluding this part of my remarks, I might say a few words about passports. These are essentially internationally recognized identity documents, which are accepted by foreign governments as proof that its bearer is a Canadian citizen.

The passport contains the formal request to all concerned to "allow the bearer to pass freely, without let or hindrance, and to afford the bearer such assistance and protection as may be necessary."

There is sometimes some misapprehension that passports are somehow more than this. They are not, for instance, permits to enter foreign countries. They do not afford any special protection or immunity from foreign laws and regulations. Nor are they certificates of good conduct.

If a Canadian passport is usually highly regarded by foreign immigration and travel authorities, it is because Canada and Canadians on the whole, enjoy a good reputation abroad, through the policies and attitudes we have adopted in our external dealings and through the understanding of Canadians generally of the

obligations of a visitor in a foreign country. Parenthetically, I might add that the high reputation of Canadians is one reason why extraordinary efforts have sometimes been made to forge our passports. Because a Canadian passport is so keenly sought after it should be carefully protected and highly valued.

Asylum

The complex question of asylum has come to public attention in recent months with the 55 Chileans and others who sought shelter in the Canadian embassy in Santiago last autumn.

Canadian policy on this question is based on the definition of different kinds of asylum.

- 1) Territorial asylum,
- 2) Diplomatic asylum, and
- 3) Temporary safe haven.

All of these involve different legal considerations.

Territorial Asylum is the term used to describe the form of asylum which a country may be obliged to provide to persons seeking either to enter it by crossing its frontiers or to remain in it, in accordance with the provisions of the 1951 Refugees Convention and 1967 Protocol, to which Canada is a party.

Territorial asylum for refugees is applicable to cases in which the persons concerned have well-grounded fears of persecution in their countries of origin; a pre-requisite to acquisition of that status is that the applicant must be physically present outside the alleged country of persecution. Problems relating to the provision of territorial asylum are the only ones to which the word "refugee" really applies and they should, therefore, by definition ordinarily not be of direct concern to our posts. Instead they are matters for the immigration authorities at Canadian border entry points.

Diplomatic Asylum is the term used to describe the process whereby an embassy provides shelter, which can turn out to be protracted in time, to persons seeking refuge on its premises in a foreign country in order to avoid the jurisdiction of the local authorities.

Diplomatic asylum, as distinct from territorial asylum, has been defined as involving a derogation from the sovereignty of the State in whose territory the embassy is situated. It withdraws the offender from the jurisdiction of the territorial state and constitutes an intervention in matters which are exclusively within the competence of that state. This concept is essentially a Latin American one. Canada does not recognize a general right of persons to such diplomatic asylum and does not participate in this practice, even in Latin America.

Diplomatic asylum is not a generally recognized concept. Therefore a state whose embassy may shelter a political refugee may simply risk the rupture of relations and the seizure of the persons seeking asylum.

To digress a little, the 'sit in' may seem to be a recent innovation, but in fact there are records of a custom in Iran, or Persia as it was called at the time, known as bast, which existed until fairly recently. Taking bast meant taking shelter in a foreign mission as a means of asserting grievances. It was based on the principles of hospitality in that country, which precluded denial of bast, whatever inconvenience might be caused. On one occasion in 1906, no fewer than fourteen thousand merchants and others took bast at the British Legation in Teheran and remained there for over a week, as a way of asserting their demands for constitutional reforms. I can only conclude that the British Legation must have been considerably larger than anything the Treasury Board has approved for a Canadian mission abroad.

I come now to the third category of asylum which is the most relevant to Canadian concerns: Temporary Safe Haven.

This term is used to describe a special and restricted category of diplomatic asylum. Under this highly exceptional process, an embassy provides a purely temporary refuge to persons, on extreme humanitarian grounds, as in cases where they face a serious and imminent risk of violence against which the local authorities are unable to offer protection or which the authorities themselves incite or tolerate.

This is the only form of diplomatic asylum now generally recognized by international law. Even so, there is uncertainty as to the precise scope of the "extreme humanitarian grounds" which may justify the granting of this kind of asylum.

Of course, temporary safe haven should never be granted to an ordinary criminal attempting to escape from the normal processes of the law.

The head of mission is not under any duty to grant asylum or temporary refuge and all kinds of considerations may affect his decision. For example, the circumstances may seem sufficiently compelling to the head of post to receive an applicant into the diplomatic premises but not actually to grant asylum before he can report to Ottawa. In that case, if the Canadian Government declines to grant asylum the head of post may, if necessary, give permission to the local police authorities to enter the premises to remove the individual.

This so-called right of asylum or temporary refuge is, in fact, only a "right" of the representing state, through its head of post, to make such an offer. There is no right of the individual to be granted asylum or temporary refuge. Because of the ill-defined nature of this exception to the general rule, it has in practice tended to be closely circumscribed.

In the case of the 55 persons granted temporary safe haven in the Canadian embassy in Santiago, it was the forbearance of the Chilean authorities, for whatever reason, and the subsequent granting of safe conducts, which brought about a successful outcome. It was because our embassy had lines of communication with the new Chilean authorities, that the necessary arrangements for the departure of these persons were possible.

I might conclude my brief survey of these complex and difficult questions with the following thoughts: the exposure to Canadian public opinion of representatives of a country practicing policies against human dignity and freedom of conscience can, over a period of time, have an important effect on those policies.

If these foreign missions were closed, then this important channel of opinion would be closed. This process may be a slow one, but then much change, involving the evolution of ideas, is slow. The saying goes, that Rome was not built in a day. Nor was democracy in a country ever destroyed in a day. The spark remains, perhaps not always readily visible, but it is not extinguished. I believe that exposure to ideas is the surest way to bring about a change in attitudes.

Contacts between nations serve more purposes than the rupture of these contacts. Our influence is greater on others, not in a void, but where a dialogue exists.

Canada

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NOTES FOR A STATEMENT BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
TO BE DELIVERED AT THE SIXTH SPECIAL
SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL
ASSEMBLY, NEW YORK CITY, APRIL 11, 1974

The international trade and payments system is under increasing strains, strains which have their roots in the growing pressure of demand on the non-renewable as well as renewable raw materials of the earth. We have become starkly aware of a developing crisis in the most essential commodity of all -- food.

This global economic situation touches each and everyone of us in some way. None of us as nation-states or as individuals, is or can be, insulated. It is therefore appropriate that we should come together here at the centre of the United Nations system, to discuss our common problems and to consider how they can be dealt with most effectively by co-operative action.

Three aspects of the global situation, all of them related to raw materials and development, are of particular concern:

- the problem of food for those in greatest need;
- the effects of high energy costs;
- the impact of inflation on the international trade and payments system.

As a substantial exporter of certain raw materials, and a significant importer of others, Canada approaches these questions very much aware that importer and exporter interests are closely interrelated. It is seriously misleading simply to equate exporter and developing country interests, or those of importer and developed countries. Indeed the common interest of exporters and importers, of developed and developing countries alike, in an effective international trade and payments system may be the most salient point to emerge from our discussions at this session.

Canada's approach is coloured by our own experience. Canada began its history as an exporter of primary commodities. That is what attracted the first explorers. The exploitation of our natural resources helped to promote both growth and development within our economy. Over the years our economy changed to a more sophisticated structure, involving a balance between resource exploitation and industrial production.

Many factors have contributed to growth and development in Canada, including:

- substantial foreign investment;
- access to technology, mainly through commercial channels;
- access to markets for our products; and
- a general sharing of the rewards of resource production among Canadians.

The importance of these factors in our development has made Canada an outward looking country with high per capita exports, and a heavy dependence on foreign trade. It has also persuaded us that a reasonably free international flow of the factors of production, whether capital, materials or technology, is of central importance to the process of industrialization and the raising of living standards.

Nor has our experience led us to believe that there are simple answers to the problems of development, or simple formulae that will ensure equity in the relations between developed and developing countries. We are re-inforced in this scepticism about simple answers by our own efforts to reduce economic disparities between far-flung regions, and to reconcile the conflicting interests of industrialized and raw materials producing areas within Canada. We find the problem infinitely complicated, requiring a wide variety of approaches to achieve results.

I can give assurance, however, that Canada has a strong interest in stable markets and a reasonable price structure for renewable and non-renewable raw materials, including foodstuffs.

- We support international commodity arrangements in which both exporters and importers are represented.
- We favour the establishment of machinery to ensure that the decisions of multinational business corporations are consistent with the national interests of the countries within which they operate.
- We defend the right of capital importing countries to define the terms for the acceptance of foreign investment. We do so in Canada.
- We believe that raw material producing countries have a legitimate interest in upgrading their resources.

In short, Canada recognizes the right of resource-owning states to dispose of their natural resources in the interest of their own economic development and of the well-being of their people.

What has to be borne in mind is that the legitimate aspirations of resource owning states can only be achieved within a healthy and dynamic world economy. The world may have to curb the rate of growth of its consumption of certain raw materials. But this should be done in a co-ordinated manner and not by acts which cause economic dislocation, unnecessary unemployment and declining incomes.

That is why reasonable security of supply for consumers is the counterpart of the rights of producers.

Abrupt and arbitrary actions affecting supply may seriously disrupt international economic cooperation. All of us, whether raw-materials producers or industrialized countries, whether developed or developing -- or a bit of both -- have a responsibility to exercise our sovereign rights in a manner that does not run counter to the interest of other countries and peoples in the maintenance of a favourable economic environment.

This is all the more important if the world is to exercise prudence in the consumption of finite resources. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to plan rationally for conservation of world resources within an unstable economic environment, in which countries must constantly adjust to fluctuations in world prices and supplies.

I turn then to the three urgent problems I identified at the outset -- food, energy and inflation.

FOOD

In the final analysis, foodstuffs are the most essential of raw materials. We are acutely aware of this because the world faces a grave situation, already marked by famine and distress. The World Food Conference in Rome later this year was called in recognition of the need to find constructive international solutions to this most pressing problem. We attach particular importance to the work of that Conference, yet the urgency of the matter justifies some further comments.

Canada has for years been a major exporter of food and a large contributor of food aid internationally. We shall maintain our food aid contributions bilaterally and through the international mechanisms we strongly support. The expenditure of an additional \$100 million was approved by the Canadian Government last week to meet the emergency needs of developing countries, particularly for food and fertilizer. The world food problem,

however, cannot be met by the exporting countries alone. It requires concerted action by all those countries able to contribute, and firm support for existing mechanisms. Canada welcomes the recent contribution by Saudi Arabia to the World Food Programme. Such contributions are essential if we are to meet the crisis in food supplies in a number of countries.

Let us hope that Nature will bless the world with good crops this coming year. But we must never again, if we can avoid it, permit the margin between famine and sufficiency to become so narrow. I shall not at this time expand upon the steps that must be taken. That is more suitable to the World Food Conference. Let me leave this thought: that only if the heavily populated developing countries achieve a higher degree of self-sufficiency in food can the future be faced with reasonable equanimity.

ENERGY

The sharp rise in the price of oil, and changes in supply and demand, have had extraordinary effects around the world. As in the case of other raw materials, Canada has approached this situation as both a producer and consumer, as both an importer and exporter. Because we import as much petroleum into Eastern Canada as we export from Western Canada, we have gained no significant advantage in our balance of payments from these developments. We have not, of course, been insulated from international price increases. At the same time, in contrast to many less fortunate countries, we have not suffered serious set-back.

In general terms, Canada favours an orderly framework for world trade in oil which would provide for stable prices at a reasonable level. Such a framework would reflect the cost of bringing in new conventional and non-conventional sources of energy in order to meet rising demand. Prices should yield a fair return to the producer, without over-burdening the consumer.

The energy question of course goes beyond that of oil. It involves other energy sources and the technologies needed to exploit them.

I realize that this session was not called primarily to deal with energy resources. They are, however, of such importance to the topics on our agenda that I wish to emphasize the need for a constructive dialogue to be engaged on energy and energy-related problems wherever appropriate. Such a dialogue is needed particularly between the principal consumers and principal exporters, whose decisions are crucial for the world as a whole and especially for the energy-poor developing countries. Canada, for its part, is willing to develop mechanisms for consultation between importers and exporters of uranium.

INFLATION

If the energy situation has had little direct effect on our balance of payments, Canada like other countries cannot hope to escape the inflationary effects of rising prices at a time when inflation is already a serious international problem. The terms of trade have in recent months shifted significantly in favour of commodity producers, as the prices of minerals and agricultural products have risen to unprecedented levels. But we are all consumers -- of raw materials and manufactured products -- and it is as consumers that the impact of world inflation is brought home to us most forcibly. I can see no easy solutions to this problem.

Governments can help by pursuing responsible policies. It is inescapable, however, that current energy costs compel a restructuring of international markets which will inevitably take some time to work out. Every country will face challenges in adjusting its economy to the changed situation.

Urgent international action to meet this situation must include: the liberation of trade arrangements; the growth of development assistance; and the systematic and progressive reordering of the monetary system in the IMF, so as to subject the creation of international liquidity to agreed disciplines.

CANADIAN RESPONSE

In the face of these compelling priorities, Canada has reviewed its own commitments. Subject to Parliamentary approval, the Canadian Government intends to take several steps to help alleviate the situation of the developing countries most seriously affected.

- We shall proceed with our own contribution of \$276 million to the Fourth Replenishment of the International Development Association.
- We shall permit the advance commitment of our first two payments to IDA, if that seems desirable.
- As I mentioned earlier, the Canadian Government last week approved an additional \$100 million, over and above its originally projected programme, to meet emergency needs in developing countries -- particularly for food and fertilizer. For the coming year, Canada's development assistance expenditures are expected to reach \$733 million as against \$571 million last year.
- We are also reassessing our entire programme with a view to ensuring that our development assistance is directed to those in greatest need and in sectors where an urgent response is required. The immediate measures will include balance of payments support through quick disbursing grants and soft loans for essential commodities. Longer term measures will include assistance for the development of energy sources. Such adjustments in development assistance programmes are difficult but necessary.

In this context, the Canadian Government believes that all countries with appropriate resources have a responsibility to examine their own situation closely and take steps to alleviate the plight of those countries which are hard hit by the present energy situation. There are promising signs that countries which have benefited most from oil price increases will, in fact, be taking concrete steps to provide assistance on concessional terms.

A renewed effort of international cooperation is called for in which full use should be made of those established and recognized international institutions which have experience and expertise in supporting development. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the World Food Programme, and the Regional Development Banks are repositories of technical skills available to the international community. As such, they offer a ready means of securing early and effective action.

Some of these institutions have already begun to adapt their operations to the new situation. There is every reason for them to carry forward this process of adaptation and to work out revised policies and criteria, new techniques and types of programmes, geared to present circumstances.

Finally, the Canadian Government has decided to bring into effect, on July 1st, 1974, its system of generalized tariff preferences in favour of developing countries. My Colleague, the Minister of Finance will be announcing the details of the scheme in Ottawa.

Mr. President, these are some steps Canada is taking to help with the problems of concern to this Special Session. But none of them is as important, to my mind, as our intention to cooperate fully with other countries:

- in needed adjustments to the international trade and payments system;
- in matters of commodity trade;
- in the reduction of trade barriers;
- in support for the established development assistance institutions.

There are mechanisms of international cooperation already established and in good working order. Let us use them.

Without close consultation in the appropriate bodies, there is little hope of maintaining an effective network of international economic relations. Conditions of disarray and sustained confrontation may yield short-term benefits for a few, but in the long run the consequences would be wasteful and dangerous for all countries.

Modes of international cooperation need constant adjustment in order to reflect existing trends and realities. These adjustments may be small or great. We may expect a re-ordering and readjustment of international economic relations to emerge from a range of multilateral consultations, including:

- the current monetary negotiations and the multilateral trade negotiations;
- continuing discussions and consultations on commodities;
- the evolution of international codes of conduct in various areas;
- the creation of particular mechanisms to meet urgent needs, such as the proposed special facility in the IMF, which we have encouraged the Managing Director to explore; and
- the evolution of new techniques of resource management, including conservation policies.

We are in the midst of a period of transition, in many respects of unprecedented scope.

This Special Session of the General Assembly is one important step forward in this process. I welcome this opportunity to improve our mutual understanding of the problems before us. The Canadian Delegation, in addressing itself to the problems of raw materials and of development, will be taking a positive but realistic approach. It will seek, in promoting its own positions and proposals, to take full account of the interests of others. It will be guided by the conviction that our common interest is in a healthy and viable world economy.

STATEMENT DISCOURS

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ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE
MITCHELL SHARP, AT THE PARLIAMENTARY
DINNER OF THE CANADA/ISRAEL COMMITTEE,
OTTAWA, WEDNESDAY, MAY 1, 1974

I am pleased to join with my distinguished parliamentary colleagues in greeting you tonight at this Second Parliamentary Dinner of the Canada/Israel Committee which celebrates the 26th Anniversary of the State of Israel. If our attitude towards Israel were the issue before this Parliament there would be no reason to be speculating about an early election.

Your committee has set itself two goals:

- the promotion of friendship and understanding between Israel and Canada;
- and the achievement of a just and lasting peace between Israel and her Arab neighbours.

These are goals that are also being pursued by the Canadian Government.

As to the first, relations between Canada and Israel have continued to grow and prosper -- due in no small measure to the energy, spirit and resources of this committee.

Trade between our two countries amounted last year to some \$58 million, a gratifying increase of \$18 million over the figure for 1972.

More important, however, in promoting closer friendship and greater understanding between our two countries, is the increasing frequency of contact between Israelis and Canadians. While the exact figures have not yet been totalled for the number of Canadians who visited Israel in 1973, I do know that some 12,000 Israelis visited Canada that year including a number of Cabinet Ministers and other prominent Israelis. As many of you may already know, Israel's Foreign Minister Eban may be paying a short informal visit to Ottawa next month. A team of Israeli energy experts is expected in Canada in the next few days, to gain a first-hand acquaintance with the CANDU reactor system.

There has, I know, been mention in the press both here and in Israel about a professed Canadian Government disinclination to involve itself in the construction of a pilot nuclear power plant in Israel. To set the record straight, I should like to stress that Canadian Government policy allows the export of nuclear power plants anywhere in the world, provided that adequate international safeguards are applied to assure the use of these facilities exclusively for peaceful purposes. Beyond this indispensable condition, which Israel should have no difficulty whatever in meeting, any reactor sale must be treated on the basis of normal commercial considerations such as the ability of Canadian industry to satisfy domestic as well as export demand.

Under the 1972 Export Development Corporation agreement which provided Israel with loans of up to \$100 million, some \$50 million has already been committed for projects involving thermal electric power stations and Ben-Gurion commercial airport. The financing of other worth-while development projects is under discussion and I have no doubt that by the end of this year other agreements will have been reached which will see the \$100 million fully committed.

Negotiations aimed at a double taxation agreement between Canada and Israel have reached an advanced stage following a visit to Israel in January of a Canadian team of officials.

In sum, relations between Canada and Israel are excellent. More effort, more initiative will be required in the future, however, to mould and develop them into the fullness we both seek.

What of that other goal that has eluded Israel and her neighbours for so long? Has the past year, since I last spoke to you, seen any movement toward a just and lasting settlement of the issues that have divided the Middle East for so many long years?

Important changes are taking place in Israel itself, and a new government will be facing up to the challenges and opportunities of the current, and I believe, essentially hopeful, situation. The last weeks have seen the passing from the political scene of that remarkable woman, Mrs. Golda Meir, who has through her courage, wisdom and forcefulness, won herself a place with the foremost stateswomen of her time. Those, like myself, who have met her were invariably struck by her great human qualities, her sincerity and her lack of pretension, as she discharged her difficult and exacting task.

The new Prime Minister of Israel will face a formidable task. As a member of a minority government, I can understand the problem of forming a government and keeping it in office. But fortunately we Canadians do not face the kind of problems faced by Israelis as they struggle to achieve peace with their neighbours; not a temporary peace but a peace that guarantees their integrity and that assures them an opportunity to develop their economy and their own way of life free from fear of aggression.

Canada's longstanding support for the right of Israel to exist and to live in peace behind secure and recognized boundaries remains unaltered. Our commitment to this vitally important principle is as firm as ever amidst the profound changes in situation and attitudes, both inside and outside the Middle East, that have taken place over the last nine months.

The savage fighting of last October has been followed by a hopeful but still fragile beginning to a process whereby peaceful negotiation of differences could supplant the option of war. Negotiations, be they direct or indirect (and we think direct negotiations would be more fruitful), are essential if a solution to the Middle East problem is to be found which will be acceptable to all peoples of the area.

Thanks largely to the efforts of Secretary of State Kissinger, agreement to disengage Israeli/Egyptian forces was reached and carried out. This will, we all hope, soon be followed by a similar accord between Israel and Syria notwithstanding the fighting that still goes on in the Golan Heights. These agreements have, I know, been described as military rather than political in nature. Yet they can be viewed as the first negotiated steps toward a comprehensive agreement.

It is, I think essential that disengagement, once completed on the Golan Heights front, should be followed quickly by a resumption of talks in Geneva by all the participants to the dispute. The present momentum, which has already given us so much cause for hope, must be maintained if work is to begin on the shaping of an overall Middle East peace settlement.

Each time, however, there is an outbreak of terrorism in the Middle East, the chances for meaningful negotiations are endangered. I am thinking particularly of the recent tragedy at Kiryat Shmonah. All such senseless terrorism is to be condemned, regardless of the motivations attributed to it. Such actions lead to sharp reactions and reprisals. These are equally damaging to a climate in which productive negotiations can take place. So let there be an end to senseless terrorism wherever it may occur.

As you know, the Canadian Government has never attempted to assert any preconceived notions on what might constitute the details of any eventual agreement. These are for the parties themselves to work out.

We continue to believe, however, that Security Council Resolution 242 of November 1967 does offer a ready and suitable framework on which to base a settlement.

The resolution was carefully drafted so as to meet the essential positions of both sides as well as to set down an equitable balance of obligations. That the resolution was successful in achieving these two objectives was made clear in its reception by most parties to the dispute as an acceptable starting point in the search for a Middle East peace. Canada's own unfailing support for the resolution is qualified only by our insistence founded upon our close association with the drafting that it always be given a strictly literal reading. We have resisted every effort to interpret it or to emphasize one part as being more important than another.

What continues to be as important for Canada now, as it was in the past, is that the parties to the dispute begin the process towards peace on the basis of the principles enunciated in Resolution 242. Let us hope that the October 1973 war will mark the last round of 25 years of Middle East hostilities and that the next quarter century will be witness to a new era of peace. The many real problems of survival on this planet that have been brought out at the recent United Nations Special Session on raw material and development require mankind's undivided energies. We can no longer afford strife and sterile confrontations, with their wasteful dispersal of human and material resources.

1974 may be the turning point for the Middle East. Let it be a year of negotiation aimed at arriving at a peace settlement. Within the altered circumstances brought about by far-reaching changes still taking place, there is surely contained a real opportunity for peace which must not be missed. Extracting that peace will by no means be easy, but the Canadian Government is convinced that, with perseverance and with more of the same courage and wisdom that characterized the agreements to disengage, it can be done.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION BEFORE
1800 HOURS, MAY 3, 1974

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STATEMENT DISCOURS

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EXTÉRIEURES.

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
TO THE C.I.I.A. SAINT JOHN BRANCH,
FRIDAY, MAY 3, 1974, SAINT JOHN, N.B.

"CONFERENCE ON THE LAW OF THE SEA"

I am most happy to have this opportunity of speaking to this recently re-established branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. In the last few years, Canadians have been taking a much greater interest in Canada's foreign policy and the whole range of our activities abroad.

I welcome this development. It stems, I think, from a greater awareness of just how much Canada is affected by events abroad and by policies of other countries and also how much our livelihood, the achievement of our national social and economic goals, and our security depend on our external trade and on a whole range of international co-operative and consultative mechanisms both bilateral and multilateral. You as members of the C.I.I.A. understand this, and your informed interest is of great value and assistance to myself, and to the government, in the policy making process.

Perhaps at least as important is your role in assisting to make this public awareness deeper, more precise and more informed.

A recent example of the valuable work the C.I.I.A. is doing to assist the government in formulating policy is the series of meetings throughout Canada, organized in conjunction with two other interested groups, in order to obtain public comment and reaction on which to base Canada's approach to the forthcoming conference in Bucharest in August on world population questions. I expect to have the report of this survey in the next days.

The theme I have chosen for my talk to you this evening is the forthcoming Law of the Sea Conference, which will begin next month in Caracas. This conference is perhaps the single most important international meeting to take place in many years. Behind the legal codification of a new international régime for the territorial sea, the continental shelf and the areas of the sea and seabed beyond these, lie all the great problems of global co-operation and organization on which our very survival on this planet depends.

I have mentioned the World Population Conference in August where for the first time will be examined the implications of the tremendous growth of the world's population during this century and especially since the Second World War. A related conference, on world food problems, will take place in Rome in November. The United Nations Special Session on resources that has just concluded looked at the problem of food and other raw materials from another view point: the impact on development of the disruption of the international trade and monetary system due to the recent sharp increases in the prices of a number of commodities, especially oil.

All these conferences are concerned with one fundamental problem: the growing pressure of demand on the finite resources of this world. At the forthcoming conference on the Law of the Sea, an attempt will be made for the first time to regulate and divide equitably the resources, both living and mineral, of a huge area of the earth. The seas and oceans occupy about 70% of the earth's surface. Its riches and its limitations are only beginning to be understood. But already the limitations, the finiteness of the seas living resources and of its absorptive capacity for pollutants, have become all too apparent.

I do not think that I can overstress to an audience of Maritimers the importance of the sea, its protection and the orderly management of its bounty. The early settlements in this region and your livelihood over the centuries have been bound up with it and the water-bourne commerce of Canada entering the outward bound through your ports. The outcome of the Caracas Conference will have a particular and direct bearing on the future development of the Maritimes.

The Conference will be drafting texts of international conventions in much the same way that many past conferences have done. The great difference will be the codification of concepts for the management, regulation and establishment of a joint world ownership of a vast part of the globe. This is something very new and very important in the growing interrelationships of countries and continents. If the Conference succeeds in its work, the world will have taken an enormous step in the direction of working out collectively the responsible global exploitation, use and conservation of world resources.

To accomplish its work, the Conference, which will meet throughout the summer and probably again in a further session, will address itself to several broad areas of common concern:

- the breadth of the territorial sea;
- the further area of national jurisdiction - the so-called economic zone or patrimonial sea;
- the water and seabed area beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and concept of "the common heritage of mankind";
- navigation in the different zones and areas of the sea;
- fisheries and their conservation; and finally
- the protection from pollution of the marine environment.

Not only the Maritimes, but all Canada has a strong and direct interest in the outcome of the Conference in each of these areas.

The Territorial Sea

For centuries, the distance of a cannon shot, the classical three miles, was the accepted limit of the territorial sea. By 1958, however, it had come to be recognized that, with the advance in technology of all sorts, including the speed of ships, modern communications, the numbers of ships entering and leaving busy ports, the growing efficiency of distant fishing operations -- and perhaps also, the longer range of cannons -- had led many governments to the conclusion that some adjustment was necessary. The 12-mile concept had gained considerable currency, or at least, a continuous territorial sea and fisheries protection zone beyond three miles out to twelve miles. Canada, with its important traditional fishing interests put forward **such a compromise** at the 1960 conference. The 1958 conference, that had achieved an important success on the continental shelf question, had failed to reconcile the different points of view on the limits of full sovereignty.

The 1960 conference also failed to come to a conclusion, but only by one vote. Since that time, a number of countries have taken unilateral decisions on a 12-mile limit.

In 1970 Canada, for instance, established a 12-mile territorial sea. In the same 1970 amendments to the Territorial Sea and Fishing Zone Act, Canada laid down the legislative basis for proclaiming exclusive fishing zones "adjacent" to its coast. Subsequently, by Order-in-Council, fishing zones were established on Canada's east and west coasts.

The Contiguous Economic Zone

There is also general agreement that some area beyond the territorial area should be under the jurisdiction of coastal states. The 1958 Continental Shelf Convention gave economic and managements rights to the limit of the 100-fathom mark or to the "Limit of Exploitability" of the coastal shelf. 100 fathoms was well beyond exploitability on the basis of the technology developed at the time. In the years since the continental shelf convention was drafted, technology has advanced to the point where it can be foreseen that there is virtually no limit, due to the depth of water, of the area that can be exploited, if not today, at least in the near future.

Some 148 states with very different geographical dimensions and attributes are eligible to come to Caracas. Of these, 39 are land-locked. Particularly, the latter look with great interest to the concept put forward some years ago by the Maltese representative at the United Nations, Dr. Arvid Pardo. He argued that beyond the territorial sea and economic zones the exploitation of the seabed should take place for the benefit of all states. The land-locked states quite naturally wish to limit the economic zone of the coastal states as much as possible. They have put forward the idea of a limited 40-mile zone or one extending only to the 200-meter isobath--the old 100-fathom line. This proposal goes back from the "Limit of exploitability concept" embodied in the Continental Shelf Convention.

Canada is in the special position of having one of the most extensive continental margins on its east coast, stretching well beyond the 200-mile mark. In some places, Flemish Cap and the Grand Banks, the distance is double and more. However, on the west coast, the shelf runs out barely to 40 miles.

The Canadian position regarding the limits of the continental shelf is based on state practice, on the 1958 Convention itself, and on the 1969 decisions of the International Court of Justice in the North Sea Continental Shelf cases, which defined the continental shelf as the submerged natural prolongation of the continental land mass. On the basis of these three legal foundations, Canada claims and exercises rights over the whole of the continental margin, including the continental slope and rise as well.

Just as the coastal states have a natural advantage over the land-locked countries, so inevitably will the Maritimes have a special advantage, through the simple fact of geography, in the on-shore storage and processing of the resources from the adjacent seabed area. But if the Maritimes and other coastal areas have this advantage, it also follows that Canada as a whole must, in some way, through federal action, share in the benefits of this new extension of the area of national jurisdiction. We have here an analogy

with the position of the landlocked states in sharing, under the Maltese formula, in the "common heritage" of the sea.

The Common Heritage of Mankind

The matter of national limits of jurisdiction over seabed resources became particularly important with the introduction of Dr. Pardo's Resolution at the United Nations in 1967. This Resolution led to the establishment of what became the United Nations Committee on the Seabed. The Maltese proposal called upon the United Nations to examine reserving the seabed and ocean floor and its subsoil, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction "exclusively for peaceful purposes... and the use of their resources in the interests of mankind". The 1970 Declaration of Principles Governing the Seabed confirmed that there is an area of the seabed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction which constitutes the "common heritage of mankind", and which is not subject to national appropriation or claims of sovereignty. Thus, attention was focussed on the crucial question -- what are the "limits of national jurisdiction" over seabed resources?

Simultaneously, with the definition of an outer limit of national rights over offshore minerals, the powers of the proposed International Seabed Authority must be defined.

The developing nations would like to see all mineral resource exploration and exploitation activities in the international area, including scientific research, to be carried out by the International Seabed Authority and not by individual states. However, many now recognize that the high cost of seabed exploration and exploitation would be beyond both the financial and technical means of the Authority alone, at least at first. Accordingly, some are coming around to the view that joint ventures and other forms of collaboration between the Authority and individual contracting states may be necessary. Several developed countries, on the other hand, want a simple licensing scheme, allowing them to go ahead on their own with the Authority's role largely confined to issuing and registering the necessary licenses. I can, however, foresee Canada playing an important role in the building up of the technical resources of the Authority.

Once again, Canada advocates an accommodation of national interests on this delicate but highly important issue. The role of the International Authority must be defined in a way that helps narrow the gap between the "have" and "have not" countries. In the Canadian view, there should be a mix of licensing and sub-contracting by the Authority, as well as direct exploitation by the Authority itself when it acquires the means and know-how. It would seem illogical, however, for Canada with its programme of development assistance, that is among the most extensive of any, not to give the Authority every support, so that it could in time become an important source of material and financial assistance to the developing countries.

Some developed countries will soon have the technological capability to extract and process certain mineral resources of the seabed for commercial purposes -- the much publicized manganese nodules. Indeed, a number of U.S. and other companies are said to be ready to move to the exploitation stage within two or three years. This possibility arouses strong concern on the part of developing nations.

Canada, along with most developed countries, was unable to vote in favour of a moratorium resolution put forward in 1969 by the developing countries, believing that it would unduly restrict technological progress and cause an unacceptable delay in making these resources available to all.

Of special concern to Canada is the high nickel content of the manganese nodules which have been found in quantity in certain parts of the seabed. Canada is the world's largest producer and exporter of nickel, and also exports copper and cobalt. We cannot ignore the impact that mining of the nodules could have on our economy. Canada is not alone in this position; for example, Zambia, Chile, and Zaire, all with large copper outputs, have a comparable interest. Therefore, Canada is pressing for an orderly regime for the development of the international seabed area, under which the law will keep up with technology, and the abyssal seabed resources will truly benefit all mankind.

Navigation

The increased jurisdiction being proposed or already claimed by coastal states has given rise to conflicts with the navigation interests of major maritime powers. On the resolution of these conflicts, more than anything else, may hinge the success of the Law of the Sea Conference. As I have said, the majority of states already claim a 12-mile limit for the territorial sea. The coastal state exercises full sovereignty over this area, but must permit foreign vessels innocent passage through it. Submarines must surface in another nation's territorial sea and warships must cover their guns. Passage is "innocent", according to the 1958 Convention on the Territorial Sea, if it is not prejudicial to the peace, good order and security of the coastal state. If the coastal state decides that passage is prejudicial on these grounds, it may take action to stop it.

But can the passage of a polluting ship be innocent? Should Maritimers or British Columbians be forced to stand helplessly by while a passing vessel contaminates the shores on which they live? You have had sufficient unpleasant experiences already to understand the serious economic, social and recreational damage even a relatively small spill can cause.

Canada maintains that "environmental integrity" is as valid a concept as "territorial integrity", and that every state has the right to protect itself by legitimate means against acts of what might be called "environmental aggression". Canada asserts that a coastal state can suspend the passage of a foreign vessel through its territorial sea where a serious threat of pollution is involved. We will seek to have this right explicitly confirmed in international law. On this point we are opposed by major maritime powers, who fear that such an interpretation of innocent passage would entitle coastal states to interfere unduly with the movements of their naval and merchant vessels.

Another area of conflicting views is the right of passage through straits used for international navigation. On the one side, there are the military and commercial concerns of the major maritime powers, who would like a "free transit" concept to replace "innocent passage", now that many of the world's most important straits such as Gibraltar and Malacca will become territorial waters through the adoption of the 12-mile rule. The strait-owning states oppose this concept and insist on the continuation of "innocent passage" to protect their security and their environment.

Canada looks favourably upon the development of the archipelagic waters theory that is closely related to the straits issue. This has been put forward by the states composed of many islands, such as the Philippines, Indonesia and Fiji. Even though it does not apply directly to the Arctic archipelago which is a coastal one adjoining a large land mass state, it appears to be a move in the right direction, at least insofar as economic jurisdiction is concerned. The thorny issue of transit through straits and archipelagos will doubtless cause major difficulties at the Conference.

Fisheries

In 1609 the renowned Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius, wrote:

"Most things become exhausted with promiscuous use. This is not the case with the sea. It can be exhausted neither by fishing nor by navigation, that is to say, in the two ways in which it can be used."

This statement is no longer correct on two important counts. But for some 350 years it accurately summed up the relationship of man and the sea. Any politician must agree that being considered right for that long is a highly enviable reputation. But Grotius underestimated both mankind's energy and ingenuity. There are certainly more than the two traditional uses of the sea that he cites. Also, and very troublingly so, we know that the sea can be exhausted by the indiscriminate use of modern fisheries techniques. The last years have seen the developments of methods of fishing that resemble vacuum cleaning more than anything else. As ancient and vast as it is, the sea cannot indefinitely be abusively exploited. Like everything else in our world, it has its limits. Human technology can now fish whole species to virtual extinction.

With an expanding world population and an ever increasing demand for protein, the living resources of the sea become daily more important. Long-range "factory" fleets go to sea for months at a time, equipped with self-contained processing and freezing plants and sophisticated fish detecting equipment, hunting hundreds and even thousands of miles from their home waters. These fleets are well known in the waters off our coasts.

But the end to expansion is in sight. In the foreseeable future, all major fish stocks useful to man will be exploited to the maximum these stocks can bear, or even beyond. With unrestricted competition for these scarce resources, overfishing and consequent reductions in yields would inevitably follow. Already in some of the world's most valuable fisheries, such as herring, the declines have set in. For some species of whales, overfishing has caused such a serious depletion that fifty years will be required to assure their restoration. In this light, there is an urgent need for establishment of management regimes to tailor fishing pressure to the capacity of the resources to regenerate themselves.

It is ironic that if it had not been for the 2nd World War, these resources might have reached the depletion point even earlier. The six years that mankind devoted to the destruction of his own species gave a needed respite to the creatures of the sea and they multiplied virtually undisturbed during that time.

For the coastal fisherman of the Maritimes or of British Columbia, dependent on the stocks that in turn depend upon his home waters, overfishing by others can spell the end of his livelihood. Only by applying management controls, such as quotas and seasonal limits -- for example, during spawning -- can the maximum yield be available each year to coastal fishermen and long-range ships alike.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in preventing overfishing arises from the freedom of the high seas concept. If fishing vessels in increasing numbers can go wherever they please and harvest any stock to the limits of their capacity, two dangerous problems arise:

--conservation becomes impossible, and

--coastal states with foreign fleets on their doorsteps are deprived of a resource on which they depend.

Canada is directly affected by both these problems. With fishing communities on both coasts, we must protect the fisherman's livelihood, as well as the resources on which he depends. Farther from home, proper conservation measures will have to be applied throughout the world, or there will not be enough fish left for anyone, anywhere. This is becoming strikingly true for the tuna fisheries in the offshore waters of both the Atlantic and Pacific.

Canada's approach to these problems is good management of fisheries, as part of the broader need for management of the whole marine environment.

A consensus appears to be emerging that within a 200-mile economic zone, coastal states should have exclusive rights over all living resources. This trend meets Canada's main objectives. It would allow the coastal state to have a determining voice in both the management and the exploitation of fisheries resources.

Of course, this 200-mile concept does not entirely cover Canada's needs. There exist off the east coast large concentrations of fish stocks beyond that rather arbitrary limit. However, I believe it will be possible to marry this zone limitation with our more functional approach. This approach was designed to provide specific solutions for the specific problems arising from the different life habits of the various types of fish and other comestible marine creatures. What is likely to come out of the Conference is a regime that will ensure that the coastal state can take fish to the limit of its capacity. With this right, there would be an agreed system that would provide for adequate management of all stocks by the coastal state. At the same time, other states would be allowed to participate in the harvesting of the surplus available.

There will, of course, also have to be special arrangements to handle special problems such as the paramount rights of coastal states over what are called the anadromous species, like salmon, and other special categories of fish such as the wide-ranging species, like whales and tuna.

Over the last few weeks, we have had strong indications that such extended jurisdiction for the coastal state will indeed attract the support of a large majority of states.

Protection of the Marine Environment

I am sure all of you share my great concern over the continuing degradation of the marine environment. More particularly, all of us have become acutely aware that indiscriminate utilization of the sea may inflict long-lasting damage upon this environment.

In the search for new sources of food, the world has come to rely more and more on the sea and shoreline which abound in nutritious living organisms. Maritimers particularly also understand the great attraction of the sea environment for health and recreation. Oil spills or seepages from the seabed can have disastrous effects. Norms are needed to keep man's activities in, over, below or on the sea within acceptable limits. One should, however, bear in mind that the pollution of the oceans is primarily caused by land-based sources.

Protection of the marine environment from contamination has so far been discussed in two main international fora: the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) and the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.

Since its inception, IMCO has administered a number of conventions aimed at regulating navigation so that it will cause as little deterioration as possible of the marine environment. Last year, the IMCO Assembly created a Marine Environment Protection Committee to underline the Organization's growing work in the environmental field.

The 1972 Stockholm Conference elaborated a Declaration on the Human Environment whose widely-accepted statement of principles may be considered as laying down the foundation for the future development of international environmental law.

A Statement of Objectives concerning the Marine Environment, which was endorsed by the Human Environment Conference, recognizes the particular interests of coastal states with respect to the management of coastal area resources.

The groundwork, therefore, seems to be sufficiently advanced for the Law of the Sea to elaborate a legal instrument pertaining to the whole realm of the marine environment. An "umbrella" treaty that would become the organic link between all existing and future instruments aimed at controlling specific sources of pollution of the marine environment.

The protection and preservation of the marine environment would embrace all sources of pollution, not only pollution from ships, but also pollution caused by seabed activities; from land-based sources; through run-offs or through the atmosphere; and that arising from the disposal of domestic and industrial wastes. Regulating the latter will of course remain within the purview of individual states.

Canada does, of course, subscribe to the idea that competent international organizations should establish appropriate, stringent standards of universal application against marine pollution.

But Canada, with its long coastline and its very special ecological conditions and physical hazards, considers that coastal states must retain the power to prescribe and enforce their own anti-pollution standards, to the extent necessary, over and above the internationally agreed rules, not only in their territorial waters but also within their areas of jurisdiction beyond. It is on that basis that Canada adopted in 1970 the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act and related regulations under the Canada Shipping Act.

Pollution control will assuredly be one of the crucial problems to be resolved by the Law of the Sea Conference. Extensions of coastal state jurisdiction automatically mean restrictions on some of the freedoms still cherished by many of the sea-faring nations. But the marine environment is precarious and the disastrous consequences of unchecked abuses are beginning to be understood. Freedoms that have existed heretofore should be balanced by obligations. Of course, there should be guarantees on the part of coastal states not to overreact, not to over-control, so that legitimate activities are not interfered with unduly.

Marine Scientific Research

Another question that the Conference will be looking at is the rules governing research vessels. We recognize the need for intensifying world-wide research into the many secrets of the sea. Mankind is on the threshold of much greater involvement with the ocean areas of the planet, as population pressures and need for resources impel us into this vast new frontier region.

Knowledge of what it contains must be shared, and also put at the disposal of the Seabed Authority. But research also has commercial, economic and security implications that can give one nation advantage over another. We believe that states should have the right to control and even disallow research activities in waters adjacent to their coasts. Coastal states must have the right to participate in research conducted in areas adjacent to their coasts by foreign states, and must have access to data and samples collected, through prompt and full reporting of results and their effective dissemination.

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With all these complex problems before it, we can have no illusion that the Conference will be an easy one, or that it will readily resolve all the issues before it. But I have been struck by the universal seriousness with which nations have confronted these issues during the long preparatory sessions of the past years.

These meetings, that have ranged from formal conferences to small working groups of like-minded states, have produced a widespread understanding of the range of implications involved in each issue.

I believe that there is a general political will to come to agreed conclusions, based on a recognition of the importance of success and on the unacceptable risks and dangers of failure.

The Canadian delegation will take a prominent part in working for the

success of the conference, as Canada has done at the many preparatory meetings. A great deal is at stake for Canada's future. But perhaps as important is the role of the conference as a demonstration that states have understood the facts of interdependence, not only for the admittedly important reasons of national security and economic well-being, but for the overriding requirement of cooperation for our future survival on this planet.

Canada Dept of External Affairs
Information Bureau

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
POUR DIFFUSION IMMEDIATE

MAY 17, 1974
LE 17 MAI 1974



STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY
OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS.

SECRÉTAIRE
D'ÉTAT AUX
AFFAIRES
EXTÉRIEURES.

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY
OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
MAY 17, 1974

DÉCLARATION DU SECRÉTAIRE
D'ÉTAT AUX AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES,
MONSIEUR MITCHELL SHARP,
LE 17 MAI 1974



The Canadian Government condemns in the strongest possible terms the outbreak of brutal violence and wanton destruction that has occurred over the last two days in the Middle East.

There is no possible excuse for sheer terrorism which results in the cold-blooded murder of innocent children. Nor can we condone massive reprisals which strike indiscriminately against civilian populations. All such acts are against the laws of civilized international life. These bloody events threaten to engulf again the Middle East in the terrible cycle of terrorism and reprisals at the very moment when determined attempts are being made to achieve a more civil climate among the governments of the area. These deeds underline how urgent it is that progress be maintained on securing agreement for the initial steps towards peace, such as the separation of forces. The Canadian Government has worked persistently and hard in all available international institutions to bring about effective international co-operation to contain and terminate terrorism. We will continue to do so. We will also continue to participate in United Nations' efforts to separate the combatants and silence the guns along the ceasefire lines.

The Canadian Government appeals urgently to all states to abide by existing rules of international law and to refrain from organizing, instigating or condoning acts of violence against innocent people in another state.

* * *

Le gouvernement canadien condamne de la façon la plus formelle l'éruption de violence brutale et de destruction aveugle qui secoue depuis deux jours le Moyen-Orient.

Il n'y a aucune excuse possible au terrorisme insensé qui assassine de sang-froid des enfants innocents. Nous ne pouvons pas non plus tolérer ces représailles massives qui frappent aveuglément les populations civiles. De telles actions sont à l'encontre des lois civiles internationales.

Les actions sanglantes menacent d'engouffrer à nouveau le Moyen-Orient dans le terrible cycle du terrorisme et de la répression, au moment même où un effort déterminé est tenté pour établir un climat plus civilisé de relations entre les gouvernements de la région. Ces actes soulignent l'urgence de poursuivre la recherche d'un accord sur les premiers pas à faire vers la paix, notamment la séparation des forces armées.

Le gouvernement canadien travaille sans arrêt ni relâche au sein de toutes les institutions internationales compétentes à établir une coopération internationale efficace pour combattre et éliminer le terrorisme. Il continuera à le faire. Il continuera aussi de participer à l'action des Nations-Unies qui vise à séparer les combattants et à faire taire les canons le long des lignes de cessez-le-feu.

Le gouvernement canadien lance un appel d'urgence à tous les Etats pour qu'il obtempèrent aux règles du droit international et refusent d'organiser, d'encourager ou d'approuver tout acte de violence contre la population civile d'un autre Etat.

STATEMENT DISCOURS

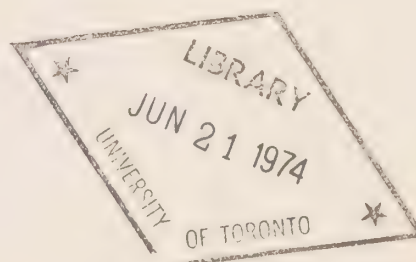


STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE
MITCHELL SHARP, MAY 18, 1974

"INDIAN NUCLEAR EXPLOSION"

DÉCLARATION DU SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT
AUX AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES,
M. MITCHELL SHARP, LE 18 MAI 1974

"ESSAI NUCLÉAIRE DE L'INDE"



The Government is very disturbed by the announcement that India has exploded a nuclear device. We are carefully considering the implications and are seeking further information from the Canadian High Commission in New Delhi.

Canada has been consistently opposed to all forms of nuclear testing and we consider it most regrettable that yet another country has now conducted a nuclear explosion. This represents a severe set-back to efforts being made in the international community to prevent all nuclear testing and to inhibit the proliferation of nuclear explosion technology.

Canada's long-standing co-operation with India in the nuclear energy field has been for peaceful purposes only and has been accepted by India on that basis. We note that when announcing this explosion the Government of India has declared that it is solely for research in the development of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Canada is a signatory of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty although India is not. As a signatory, Canada has made it very clear in statements before the United Nations, at the Geneva Disarmament Conference and in other diplomatic exchanges that it sees no distinction between the development of nuclear explosions for so-called peaceful purposes and explosions for military purposes. In the light of these considerations the Government must view India's action with special concern.



Le Gouvernement a été très troublé à l'annonce de l'explosion d'un engin nucléaire par l'Inde. Nous étudions soigneusement les répercussions possibles d'un tel geste et nous avons demandé des renseignements plus détaillés à cet égard à notre Haut-commissariat à New Delhi.

Le Canada s'est toujours opposé à toute forme d'essai nucléaire et il considère très regrettable qu'une autre nation se soit livrée à cette activité. Ce geste représente un recul important dans le cadre des efforts mis en oeuvre par la communauté internationale, visant à interdire toute forme d'essai nucléaire et à freiner la prolifération des techniques d'explosion nucléaire.

La coopération de longue date entre le Canada et l'Inde ne s'est établie qu'à des fins exclusivement pacifiques et l'Inde a accepté cette condition. Nous constatons que le Gouvernement de l'Inde précise dans son communiqué, que l'essai n'a pas d'autre but que de pousser plus avant les recherches sur l'utilisation des explosions nucléaires à des fins pacifiques. A l'encontre de l'Inde, le Canada est partie au Traité sur la non-prolifération des armes nucléaires et, à ce titre, il a affirmé de façon non équivoque par l'entremise de ses représentants aux Nations Unies, à la Conférence de Genève sur le désarmement et lors d'autres échanges diplomatiques qu'il ne faisait aucune distinction entre les essais en vue de l'utilisation des explosions nucléaires à des fins soi-disant pacifiques et leur utilisation à des fins purement militaires. A la lumière des considérations susmentionnées, le Gouvernement se doit de faire savoir que le geste posé par l'Inde le préoccupe de façon toute spéciale.

Canada Dept of External Affairs
Information Committee

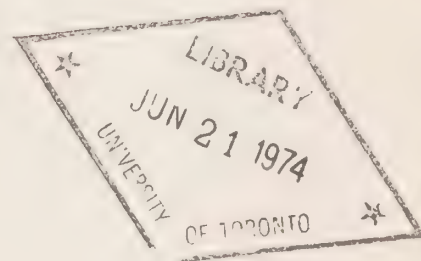
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT DISCOURS



STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE
MITCHELL SHARP, MAY 22, 1974

"INDIAN NUCLEAR EXPLOSION"



As I mentioned in my statement on May 18, the Government was very disturbed by the announcement that India had exploded a nuclear device and today Cabinet has been giving serious study to the implications of this unfortunate development.

Our concern is related to two important aspects. First, we are concerned as to the effect that India's action, whatever its motivation, will have on international efforts, to which Canada has been an active party, to limit and control the proliferation of nuclear explosion technology for which there can be no distinction between peaceful and potential military application. For all intents and purposes, therefore, India now has developed the capability of producing a nuclear weapon. Many years ago Canada could have developed a similar capability but we chose not to do so because of our view that the dubious advantages of having our own explosive device were far outweighed by the dangers to world peace and security. The development of this technology by India is bound to have serious and wide-spread repercussions throughout Asia and the world.

Secondly, we are very distressed and concerned that this latest member of the nuclear club should be a country with which successive Canadian Governments have carried on over the past two decades extensive co-operation in the nuclear energy field. This long-standing co-operation with India in the nuclear energy field has involved the gift, under the Colombo Plan, of a nuclear research reactor; the provision of credit, expertise, materials and fuel for two electric generating reactors, and a variety of technical exchanges and training of personnel, etc. All of this assistance was intended to help India in meeting the critical energy needs of the Indian people and was provided to, and accepted by, India on the basis that it would be used for peaceful purposes only. We have made it clear in international discussions and in bilateral exchanges with India that the creation of a nuclear explosion for so-called peaceful purposes could not be considered as a peaceful purpose within the meaning of our co-operative arrangements.

Canada continues to attach great importance to its general relations with India and remains anxious to contribute to the economic and social progress of the Indian people. It fully respects India's sovereignty and independence in all matters. It cannot, however, be expected to assist and subsidize, directly or indirectly, a nuclear programme which, in a key respect, undermines the position which Canada has for a long time been firmly convinced is best for world peace and security.

In view of the serious implications internationally and for our bilateral relations resulting from India's explosion of a nuclear device, Canada intends to reassess its nuclear co-operation with India as the Prime Minister had warned the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, would be done if India developed such a device. We are seeking information from India on the source of the plutonium used in the explosion and on the specific ways in which they expect this nuclear explosion technique will benefit Indian economic development commensurate with the costs involved. Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. has recalled for discussions Mr. Morrow, its resident representative in Bombay. The Canadian Government has suspended shipments to India of nuclear equipment and material and has instructed AECL, pending clarification of the situation, to suspend its co-operation with India regarding nuclear reactor projects and the more general technological exchange arrangements which it has with the Indian Atomic Energy Commission.

Canada will propose early discussions with India on future relations between our two countries, including, in particular, a discussion on the implications of this latest development for India's economic priorities. Canada is conscious of the very large costs involved in the normal development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and we have an appreciation of the substantial additional resources, material, managerial and technical, which must be devoted to the development of explosive devices. Canada does not intend to share the burden of relieving such costs. As a result, the Canadian Government is not prepared at this time to agree to any rollover of India's commercial debt to Canada, which is largely related to India's nuclear energy programme. The Canadian Government, however, does not plan to interrupt its continuing programme of food and agricultural aid to the sub-continent although it will be reviewing other elements in the aid programme in consultation with the Indian authorities.

I am informing the Indian High Commissioner of the steps outlined above.

With regard to the broad international implication of India's nuclear explosion, Cabinet has directed that officials enter into immediate consultations with a number of other governments, including those which have been involved in India's nuclear development programme, signatories to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and other members of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

STATEMENT DISCOURS



STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE
HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP, MAY 30, 1974
"ISRAELI-SYRIAN DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT"

DÉCLARATION ÉMISE PAR LE SECRÉTAIRE
D'ÉTAT AUX AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES,
MONSIEUR MITCHELL SHARP, LE 30 MAI 1974

"ACCORD DE DÉSENGAGEMENT ENTRE
ISRAËL ET LA SYRIE."



I am sure all Canadians share the Government's gratification at the achievement of a disengagement agreement between Israel and Syria. This development will not only bring an end to the fighting in the Middle East but should also open the way for meaningful negotiations on a peace settlement in that long troubled region.

All the governments concerned and particularly Israel and Syria are to be congratulated on the statesmanship they have demonstrated. We also admire the tireless efforts of the United States' Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, whose outstanding contribution was rewarded with final success.

All eyes will now turn to Geneva where the disengagement agreement is to be signed, thereby opening the way for negotiations for the settlement of the political problems of the Middle East. It is our earnest hope that these negotiations will also be successful since they could not only bring peace to the area but also contribute to a lessening of tension throughout the world.

If the United Nations Secretary General on instructions from the Security Council and after consultation with the parties to the agreement requests Canadian participation in the U.N. disengagement observer force we are prepared to respond positively.

* * *

Je suis sûr que tous les Canadiens partagent la satisfaction du Gouvernement devant la réalisation d'un accord de désengagement entre Israël et la Syrie. Outre qu'il met fin aux combats au Moyen-Orient, cet accord devrait ouvrir la voie à des négociations sérieuses en vue d'un règlement de paix dans cette région depuis si longtemps troublée.

Tous les gouvernements concernés et particulièrement Israël et la Syrie doivent être félicités pour la sagesse politique dont ils ont fait preuve à cet égard. Nous admirons également les efforts inlassables du secrétaire d'Etat américain, M. Kissinger, dont le rôle remarquable a été couronné de succès.

Tous les regards se tournent maintenant vers Genève où l'on doit signer l'accord de désengagement qui ouvre la voie à des négociations pour le règlement des problèmes politiques du Moyen-Orient. Nous espérons sincèrement que ces négociations connaîtront aussi un aboutissement heureux, car non seulement elles ne manqueront pas d'apporter la paix dans la région, mais elles contribueront certainement à une diminution des tensions dans le monde entier.

Si le secrétaire général des Nations Unies, agissant sur l'ordre du Conseil de sécurité et après consultations avec les parties à l'accord, demande la participation du Canada au groupe d'observateurs du désengagement créé par les Nations Unies, nous sommes prêts à donner une réponse positive.

I am happy and honoured to have been invited to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian UNICEF Committee. UNICEF has always had a special place in the United Nations family of organizations. There is no doubt that it has been one of the most successful international co-operative efforts that have come into being in the period after the Second World War. Its success is due very largely, I believe, to the interest that national organizations in many countries of private persons like the Canadian UNICEF Committee have taken in UNICEF's programmes and the hard work done to rally public support to its endeavours.

UNICEF is getting on to be 30 years old. This may seem pretty young to some of us, but in terms of international organizations, it is well nigh venerable. It began as an emergency fund but soon it became obvious that the need for UNICEF was a long term one and that the organization required an indefinite mandate to pursue its work.

What I have always found particularly attractive about UNICEF is its orientation toward the future through its concern for the children who will inherit this world from us. The second aspect of UNICEF that I find particularly appealing is that it is a voluntary organization. While relying on government contributions for an important part of its budget, nonetheless UNICEF receives generous support through the work and interest of private citizens in many countries.

From the beginning of UNICEF's existence Canadians, both private and official, have played a very important part in assuring the success of the organization. Sitting here tonight is a most distinguished lady who among her several careers and activities was Deputy Director of UNICEF for many years after having been Canada's representative on the UNICEF Executive Board. I am speaking of Mrs. Adelaide Sinclair.

As someone who has dealt for a number of years with foreign affairs, I have been conscious of the very great requirement in Canada for an increased awareness of the world outside our borders, its problems and its needs. I have noticed a marked increase in this awareness in the past few years which is very welcome. It is organizations like the UNICEF Committee that have stimulated throughout Canada an interest in developments outside our country and our continent.

Since its creation, UNICEF has known the terrible facts about malnutrition and disease that so many of the world's children know as a seemingly inescapable part of their lives. More recently, we have become aware that the problem of feeding the world's growing population has become even more acute, as world population rises and as we begin to see that the resources of the world are not, as we once tended to think, infinite -- that unless there is world-wide co-operation and intelligent global management of food and other resources even the next generation may be faced with massive starvation.

The symptoms have been evident for some time. There have been bright spots such as the "green revolution" whereby better seeds, better agricultural techniques, and the use of fertilizer has increased enormously the productivity of many countries. To balance this, however, we have seen populations rise even faster than the rise in productivity. And we have seen how vulnerable the "green revolution" itself is to shortages of water and fertilizer. We have seen certain fish stocks from the seemingly inexhaustible

oceans become depleted through over-fishing and inadequate or non-existent conservation methods. We have seen drought in the Sahelian region extend the already vast area of the Sahara Desert killing livestock and facing whole populations with death, malnutrition or a pitiful gnawing insufficiency of food sapping their vitality and creative forces. I shall have more to say about this catastrophic situation in a moment.

It seems to be a painful truth that the world does not respond to problems until mankind receives some cosmic jolt which finally unleashes constructive efforts on a large enough scale. The jolt that seems to have produced the beginning of the efforts needed to deal with our situation was the war last October in the Middle East which brought in its wake a curtailment of oil supplies and a sharp worsening of an already ailing trade and payments system.

1974 might be called the first year of global stock taking and of the beginning of global co-operation based on the rather tardy understanding of our common interest, as members of the human race, in facing up to the consequences of the increasing demand on finite industrial and food resources.

We in Canada are more fortunate than many others. We have a rather large proportion of the world's industrial resources compared with our relatively small population. At the same time we can grow an abundance of food, greater than our own requirements. Even with these tremendous assets, we cannot live comfortably immune from misery, starvation, overcrowding and an insufficiency of resources in other countries of the world, as the world-wide inflation so drastically demonstrates. We must play our part in the global stock taking and global management of the world's resources, and in the arrangements for the fair sharing of the world's resources at decent prices, on the basis of a decent return for labour and investment.

The year began with a little publicized meeting of Finance Ministers in Rome to look at the trade and payments system. This was the so-called Committee of Twenty. The process continued in Washington where the major industrialized countries met to discuss the common action required in the face of the existing oil crisis.

There was some criticism of the way this meeting was held and the narrow agenda initially proposed. Canada shared some of these misgivings, and I am happy to report that plans are being formulated for a dialogue with the major exporters of oil.

That next event took place in New York during the month of April. There the members of the United Nations met in a Special Session of the General Assembly to discuss the whole vast problem of raw materials and their relationship to the development process.

The Special Session of the General Assembly was essentially a political meeting. It could not be expected to draw up detailed and fully worked out plans of action. This will be the task of the many specialized organizations of the United Nations with their funds of knowledge and expertise gathered over the years.

The General Assembly did however offer a forum for expressing the thoughts and aspirations of the less developed countries. It also offered an opportunity for the industrialized countries to express their views and analyses of what was required to re-establish some sort of order and stability in the world trade and payments system. Some of the ideas put forward by the less developed countries seemed far-fetched and impractical at first sight. But experience shows that the unacceptable of today becomes the doctrine of tomorrow.

There is a need to balance on a global basis the requirements of industrialized and less developed countries, of exporters and importers, categories which are by no means clear cut. The classic lines of division have become blurred. Canada's situation is a case in point. We are an industrialized nation and also a raw materials producer. We sympathize through our own experience, with the concepts of national sovereignty over natural resources; of control of development on the basis of our own national priorities; of national guidelines for international enterprises operating in our country.

Most of the positions put forward at the Special Session will be looked at in detail elsewhere in the coming months. One point, however, emerged as a clear consensus at the meeting. There was unanimity on the need for emergency assistance for those countries hardest hit by the sharp rise in oil prices. These are mainly the countries with large populations, few exportable resources and insufficient capacity to feed themselves. At the Special Session, Canada, for its part, announced among other aid and relief measures, a special \$100 million allocation, mainly in the form of food and fertilizers for the countries whose balance of payments had been most severely affected.

The next element of this merging pattern of essential tasks that lie ahead, will be the meeting in Bucharest in August of the World Population Conference. This subject, full of emotion and sensitivities, is nonetheless a fundamental one. The question confronting us with increasing immediacy is: How many human beings can the earth support? The Bucharest Conference will not give the final answer but it will be another step in the process of thinking of our future in world-wide terms.

The month of November will see the convocation in Rome of a World Food Conference under the aegis of FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization). Here we will be talking of survival in the simplest and most direct forms. You who have worked with UNICEF over the years will know exactly what I mean.

Apart from the dislocation of the trade and payments system that stems in large measure from human decisions or lack of them, the situation in a number of African countries on the fringes of the Sahara Desert has reached catastrophic proportions as a result of drought. In some parts of this region, the Sahel, there has been no rain, or virtually none for a number of years. This year, the expected annual rains did not come to other areas of the central African region, particularly toward the east, in Ethiopia and Tanzania.

Canada has already contributed generously to the international relief measures arising from the drought. Some \$14 million have been made available by Canada through various international programmes. But giving relief, while essential, is not enough. How is the encroaching desert to

be restrained and what is to be done for the hundreds of thousands of people in this region who have lost their formerly habitable lands?

No one is quite sure of the answers. What is clear is that it will take time, organized effort and money to halt and then roll back the blight of drought. For this reason, the Government of Canada has elaborated a five-year programme to help in the rehabilitation of the Sahelian region, involving total expenditure over a five-year period of \$230 million.

Earlier this year two other contributions were made. The sum of \$400,000 to FAO, which is co-ordinating emergency relief to the drought and famine stricken region in Africa and \$400,000 for UNICEF's special programme of relief in the same region.

UNICEF's emergency work consists of digging in the Sahelian region. There is some subterranean water in the area that can be readily tapped, given the sort of expertise UNICEF has acquired over the years in this very field. Not only will these wells give relief to the inhabitants and their herds, but they will have an important sociological impact in helping to anchor the nomadic populations and thus enable their governments to bring them to schooling, trading and the good habits of a more than surface and subsistence agriculture.

I congratulate UNICEF on this sort of thoughtful and understanding planning. UNICEF is very wise in not relying entirely on official contributions from governments for the financing of its activities. In the first place, you can be more independent if you raise a good share of your own funds.

In the second place, public support in the form of cold hard cash encourages government support. The UNICEF Committee Specific Purposes Fund brings matching contributions from government sources, sometimes at a substantial ratio. Furthermore, public support has led successive governments continually to increase the regular Canadian contribution to UNICEF. The figure for the regular governmental contribution only has risen from \$1,112,000 in 1969 to \$2,500,000 in 1974. I expect to be able to pledge a further increase for 1975 at the November pledging conference.

In conclusion, I would like to leave this thought with you: the food situation in the world has never been more serious. Governments are beginning to tackle the global co-operative tasks that are required. But governments cannot do the job without the whole-hearted support of concerned citizens.

You of the Canada UNICEF Committee with your understanding of the tremendous requirements, have a special responsibility to rally support for Canada's part in this vital world-wide process.

I am not talking to you about charity or neighbourliness: I am talking about survival.

July 18, 1974

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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP

CYPRUS

The Government has been following closely developments in Cyprus with the aim of preventing the situation from deteriorating further and of contributing to a peaceful solution. In doing so we have had the following considerations in mind:

1. Canada has always supported the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus which, among other things, is a member of the Commonwealth. We therefore deplore the violent overthrow earlier this week of the democratically elected government of Cyprus. It is our desire that a constitutionally valid government be returned to power on the Island and we will seek to contribute in any appropriate way we can to this objective.
2. There seems to be no reasonable doubt that officers of the Greek Armed Forces serving with the Cypriot National Guard played an active part in the movement to overthrow President Makarios. For its part the Greek Government has publicly stated that the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus should be maintained. We consider it important that this statement be reflected by concrete action, particularly the recall by the Greek Government of its officers attached to the Cypriot National Guard, so that there would be no question of further Greek involvement in what the Athens Government has described as the internal affairs of Cyprus.
3. If the crisis that has developed on Cyprus is to be resolved in a peaceful manner, it seems to us that, in addition to the efforts of other interested governments and organizations, this will require close cooperation on the part of the United Kingdom, Greek and Turkish governments which, under the London and Zurich Agreements of 1959, have a formal responsibility for the preservation of Cyprus' independence. Among other things, these governments have specific treaty obligations to consult together in circumstances such as those that now prevail on Cyprus and we strongly urge that all three governments participate in such consultations without further delay. Only in this way can the danger of unilateral action, which could have such serious consequences, be effectively avoided.
4. The Canadian Government appreciates the moderation and restraint exercised to date by the Turkish/Cypriot community in Cyprus and the Government of Turkey, which are understandably concerned about recent developments on the Island.

It is our hope this moderation and restraint will be continued while efforts are being made by various elements of the international community to find a peaceful and acceptable solution to the Cyprus problem.

5. We are following closely the Security Council's discussions of the Cyprus problem that are currently underway. Although we are not members of the Security Council we have a special interest and concern with regard to the problem because of Canada's role in the UN peacekeeping force there. Since the continuing usefulness of this role will depend on the restoration of constitutional government on the Island, we will want to contribute in any way we can to any initiatives the Security Council may decide to undertake.
6. The Cyprus situation is one in which NATO as a whole has immediate and direct concern and our Permanent Representative in Brussels is participating in the consultations which are taking place with the representatives of other member governments, including the Turkish and Greek Governments, to promote a peaceful resolution of the problem.
7. The Government has naturally been concerned not only about the welfare of Canadian UN forces on Cyprus but also about that of other Canadians there and we have been gratified that to date there has been no reason to believe they are in any imminent danger. Nevertheless our Ambassador in Tel Aviv, who is responsible for Cyprus, has been instructed to recommend to Canadians who have no pressing business on the Island that they should probably leave when they are in a position to do so. This precautionary step has been taken because if the situation should deteriorate the Government's ability to assist them could well be limited. It is our hope that normal commercial means of travel will shortly be restored but in the event this should not happen or that the situation should worsen, we have made contingency plans through the Department of National Defence for the evacuation of Canadians by means of Canadian Armed Forces aircraft.

*Canada Dept of External Affairs
Information division*

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JUNE 21, 1974
LE 21 JUIN 1974



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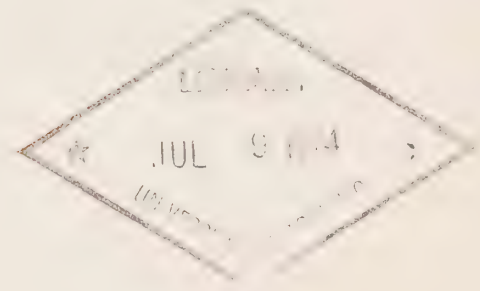
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STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP

"NUCLEAR TESTS"

DÉCLARATION DU
SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT
AUX AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES,
MONSIEUR MITCHELL SHARP

"ESSAIS NUCLÉAIRES"



The Government of Canada regrets that in the last few months five countries have exploded nuclear devices, notwithstanding the long-standing and widely supported international objective of a comprehensive ban on all nuclear testing by all countries. Unfortunately, in recent days there have been additional nuclear tests in the atmosphere. Although the level of radioactivity in the atmosphere arising from nuclear tests is no longer at the high levels of a few years ago, it is prudent, in the Canadian view, that releases of radioactive material into the atmosphere be avoided, given uncertainties of the long-term effects to health. Canada has taken encouragement from the French Government's announcement that it expects its current tests in the atmosphere to be the last. Canada strongly hopes that China will follow the same course and that the Soviet Union and the United States will take the lead in moving towards the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty which would meet not only immediate environmental concerns, but also serve the more far-reaching goal of directing nuclear knowledge to solely peaceful purposes.

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Le Gouvernement du Canada regrette le fait que cinq pays se soient livrés à des essais nucléaires au cours des derniers mois en dépit de l'objectif international, établi de longue date et appuyé par un grand nombre de pays, visant à parvenir à une interdiction totale des essais nucléaires pour tous les pays. Malheureusement d'autres essais nucléaires ont eu lieu dans l'atmosphère au cours des derniers jours. Même si le niveau de radioactivité provenant de ces essais n'est pas aussi élevé qu'il y a quelques années, le Gouvernement canadien est d'avis qu'il serait sage d'éviter toute autre émission de substances radioactives dans l'atmosphère, étant donné que les effets à long terme sur la santé sont encore peu connus. La déclaration du gouvernement français, selon laquelle ses essais actuels dans l'atmosphère seraient vraisemblablement les derniers à contribuer à rassurer le Canada. Ce dernier espère fortement que la Chine adoptera la même attitude et que l'Union soviétique et les Etats-Unis prendront l'initiative d'encourager la conclusion d'un traité d'interdiction totale des essais nucléaires qui non seulement répondrait aux préoccupations immédiates dans le secteur écologique, mais servirait également à la réalisation d'objectifs de plus grande portée visant à faire servir les connaissances nucléaires à des fins exclusivement pacifiques.

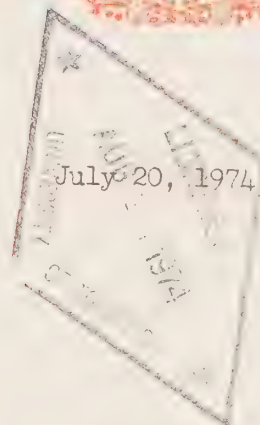
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STATEMENT BY
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP

CYPRUS - CURRENT SITUATION

Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs,
The Honourable Mitchell Sharp

CYPRUS - CURRENT SITUATION

On behalf of Canada, which is a contributor to the United Nations Forces in Cyprus, I wish to reiterate our deep concern over the situation in Cyprus resulting from the coup d'état led by the Greek officers of the National Guard. My concern is deepened by the further deterioration of the situation in the area following on military intervention by Turkey.

I indicated in my statement of July 18 that if the current crisis on Cyprus is to be resolved in a peaceful manner and if the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus are to be maintained, close cooperation will be required on the part of the United Kingdom, Greek and Turkish Governments, which are parties to the Treaty of Guarantee with Cyprus.

In order to avoid further bloodshed and obtain a negotiated settlement of the crisis, I am convinced that those three Governments must immediately fulfil their obligation to consult together in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Guarantee.

Accordingly I have today directed a specific and urgent appeal to the Governments of Greece and Turkey to respond to the invitation of the Government of the United Kingdom to consult together under that Treaty in order to achieve a cessation of the hostilities and to accept their joint responsibility for seeking a just and peaceful solution to the current crisis in Cyprus. I have also appealed to the Greek and Turkish Governments to avoid any further action which would prejudice the chances of a negotiated settlement.

In addition I have sent messages to other interested governments urging their support of this effort for peace and have spoken personally this afternoon with British Foreign Secretary Callaghan.

The Canadian Government welcomes the efforts of the United Nations Security Council to achieve a cease-fire on Cyprus.

All Canadians want peace in Cyprus. I am particularly aware of the special concerns of those Canadians who have their origins in that country and those who have relatives serving with the Canadian contingent in the United Nations Force in Cyprus. I can assure them that we are supporting every effort to stop the fighting and achieve a negotiated settlement.

July 20, 1974

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT CONCERNING CANADIANS IN CYPRUS

The consular officers whom we have sent to the Island, with help from our UN Contingent, are doing everything they can to assist the estimated 150 remaining Canadian civilians who were not able to leave yesterday.

A warning was given on Thursday to Canadians who had no compelling reason to remain in Cyprus, to leave the Island as quickly as possible. Since then, the BBC and British radio facilities in Cyprus have been broadcasting warnings to UK and other foreign tourists. From the messages we have received, it is clear that Canadian British and other components of the UN Force in Cyprus are taking care of foreign tourists. A report from our own DND indicates that 300 of them including Canadians have gathered at the Canadian contingent base camp near Nicosia.

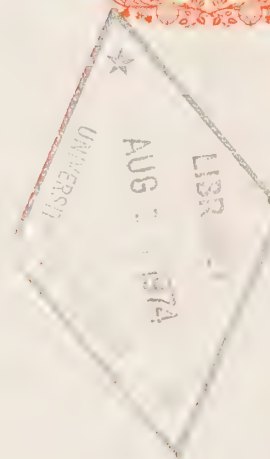
Plans are now being put into effect to provide military aircraft, since the commercial flights are not available. At present, two Canadian Armed Forces aircraft are standing by in Cairo for this purpose.

My Department is receiving numerous calls from persons who are worried about friends and relatives in Cyprus, in Greece and in Turkey. The information concerning these persons is being passed to our personnel in Cyprus and to our Embassies in Athens and Ankara. As soon as specific information about persons is available it will be relayed to families and friends in Canada. Because of the pressure being placed on communications facilities, I would not expect, however, that messages of this nature will be available for some time.

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July 21, 1974

STATEMENT BY

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP

CYPRUS

STATEMENT MADE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP, SUNDAY, JULY 21, 1974

CYPRUS

Diplomatic Front:

As you know the United Nations Security Council has approved a resolution asking for a cease-fire. This cease-fire has not come into effect.

We of course are one of those countries trying to rally support. Our particular purpose, however, diplomatically is to support the efforts of the British Government under the Treaty for the Independence for Cyprus to bring about a meeting amongst the three guarantor powers, the British, the Greeks and the Turks. I was in touch personally yesterday with Mr. Callaghan to tell him that Canada will do everything it could to help him in bringing about this meeting and that we made representation in Greece and Turkey and in other countries to this effect.

United Nations Peacekeeping Activity:

For the last ten years the U.N. Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus, to which Canada contributes the second largest contingent, has been a major element in preventing clashes between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities on the Island.

When the Government of Archbishop Makarios was overthrown a week ago the United Nations Force had a particularly important role to play. Initially the difficulty was between factions of the Greek Cypriot community and the United Nations Force was largely successful in preventing fighting from developing between the two communities.

In recent days, as fighting on the Island has intensified as a result of the interjection of Turkish National Forces, the United Nations Peacekeeping Force has taken on an additional role trying to prevent the fighting from spreading to Greek and Turkish Cypriots. In

cases where fighting actually broke out, the United Nations Force used all the means at its disposal to achieve local cease-fires even before agreement was reached yesterday in the Security Council to call for a general cease-fire. In some cases the United Nations Forces were successful in their efforts but unfortunately in many other cases they were not.

The Canadian Contingent in the United Nations Force on Cyprus has been amongst the most active in recent days because of its responsibility for the Nicosia area where fighting has been the most intense. We are all concerned that in the course of these efforts nine members of the Canadian Contingent have been wounded. I am pleased to be able to confirm, however, that in all cases the injuries have not been serious.

We have remained in direct contact with Colonel Beattie, the Commander of the Canadian Contingent and we have also received regular reports on the United Nations Forces activities on Cyprus from U.N. Headquarters in New York. All of these reports indicate that the Force as a whole, and the Canadian Contingent in particular, have carried out their duties in a most exemplary way despite the increasing difficulties they are facing and I am sure this will be a source of pride and satisfaction for all Canadians.

We have been in touch this morning with U.N. Headquarters where we have had confirmed that there is no question at this time of the U.N. Force relinquishing its responsibilities and withdrawing from the Island, despite the difficult conditions being experienced. On the other hand, in particular cases it has been necessary for elements of the U.N. Force to withdraw from their more exposed outpost when it became apparent that there was nothing useful they could do in the circumstances and that they might be in some physical danger. I should add that if and when a settlement

is achieved in present difficulties it may well be that the U.N. Force on the Island will have to assume even further responsibilities in an effort to ensure that the terms of any agreement are carried out.

Security of Canadian Civilians:

On the civilian side, two Canadian consular officers set up their office last Friday and immediately proceeded to establish contact with the Canadians in Cyprus. They are, of course, co-operating with the Canadian Contingent to the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in the specific task of assisting Canadians stranded on the Island.

A message has been broadcast to all Canadians through the British Forces Broadcasting service in Cyprus asking them to get in touch with the Canadian Consular Office and giving them the location and telephone numbers.

In view of the continuing hostilities in the Nicosia area, all Canadian residents are being evacuated from Nicosia to Dhekelia on the Southern coast of Cyprus through a route arranged and protected by the British Forces. From there, the evacuees will be flown to a safe haven by a Canadian Forces Hercules which is now on the ground in Cyprus. The process of evacuation will, of course, continue as long as necessary. Cairo, Beirut or Lahr may be used as staging points. Evacuees will, of course, receive all the assistance they need from the Canadian personnel at any of these points.

We have naturally requested that lists of evacuees be given to us so that we may reassure as quickly as possible the numerous people who are worried about friends and relatives. Our Consular Services will communicate with friends and families as soon as information becomes available.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
AUGUST 14, 1974



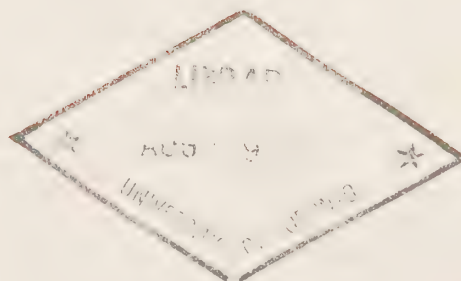
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STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HON. ALLAN J. MACEACHEN

"CYPRUS"



The Canadian Government views with the utmost seriousness the breakdown in Geneva of negotiations designed to reach agreement on an equitable settlement for the problems in Cyprus and the subsequent resumption of hostilities on the Island.

We were encouraged by the fact that Britain, Turkey and Greece, in Geneva on July 30th, were able to agree on a declaration which seemed to provide an effective framework for a negotiated settlement. We were therefore hopeful that the phase of the talks which began in Geneva on August 8th under the energetic and able chairmanship of the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Callaghan, would result in further progress towards a settlement.

Canada agreed on July 25th to respond positively to a request by the U. N. Secretary General to nearly double the size of our U. N. military contingent on the Island. This action on Canada's part was a reflection of the importance we attach to preventing open conflict in an area of special sensitivity to the maintenance of world peace and of our desire to contribute to the resolution of hostility between countries which have for a long time been friends and allies of Canada. It also reaffirmed Canada's willingness to participate in international peacekeeping efforts under U. N. auspices when we are in a position to make an effective contribution.

Recent events in the Middle East and Cyprus, and in particular the death of ten Canadians while serving with the U. N. peacekeeping forces there, have demonstrated that this role can involve a high price. However, I remain convinced that Canada's peacekeeping efforts have helped to prevent further loss of life and to minimize human suffering. They have also contributed to creating conditions which enabled the parties directly involved to begin their efforts in reaching negotiated settlements. It was for these purposes that the Canadian Government agreed to increase substantially the size of its military contingent on the Island.

I understand that the Department of National Defence has been in direct communication with the Canadian contingent in Cyprus and I understand that to date there have been no casualties to Canadian servicemen in the current fighting. In accordance with U. N. instructions all United Nations forces on the Island have withdrawn to their main camps until an effective ceasefire has been implemented. The Canadian contingent Commander met yesterday, August 13th, with a representative of the Turkish forces on Cyprus and received assurances that Turkey would respect the neutrality and security of all U. N. positions on the Island. Evidence suggests that the disputants on Cyprus have abided by this understanding.

It is my sincere hope that the current fighting on Cyprus, which prevents the renewal of negotiations, will stop forthwith and that the parties concerned will refrain from any actions which could lead to an escalation of hostilities in the region. This would be in the best interest of international peace and the security of the countries directly concerned but most importantly, of all the people of Cyprus.

The Canadian Government was gratified to note the speed and unanimity with which the United Nations Security Council reached agreement last night on a resolution calling for an immediate end to all firing and military action on Cyprus and a resumption of negotiations without delay. This action by the Security Council reflects the growing concern of the international community over the deplorable initiation of renewed hostilities on the Island. I fully support the Security Council's call to the parties concerned and have taken immediate steps to urge upon them the necessity of fulfilling their international obligations. I have today instructed our representative to the North Atlantic Council in Brussels to deliver a statement to this effect in the North Atlantic Council at the earliest opportunity. Further, I will be meeting shortly with Turkish and Greek representatives in Ottawa to express to them the views of the Canadian Government. I am also in close touch with our representatives in the United Nations in New York and we are doing all in our power to impress upon the parties concerned the necessity of complying with last night's Security Council resolution.

September 6, 1974

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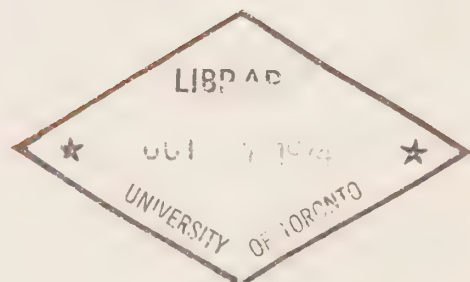
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NOTES FOR A STATEMENT BY
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE ALLAN J. MACEACHEN,
AT THE BANFF '74 INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON SLAVIC STUDIES

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1974



Thank you, Professor Uren, for your kind words and warm welcome. It is a pleasure to have the opportunity to address this distinguished academic gathering so soon after taking up my new functions as Secretary of State for External Affairs. In fact this is my first public speech in that capacity and I think it is a particularly appropriate occasion because your concerns and mine are to a significant degree both related and complementary. Related because it is clear to any student of international affairs that the activities and aspirations of the 370 million people who live in the USSR and Eastern Europe are bound to be of crucial importance to the wider questions of world peace and stability that must be of concern to all governments. Complementary because, while you are for the most part engaged in the academic and private sectors and I in the public sector, we are both

contributing in our different ways to the broader contacts and deeper mutual understanding which are essential ingredients of better East-West relations.

Canada has long been in the forefront of Western countries which have sought improvement of those relations through the process we call détente -- the reduction of tensions and the promotion of cooperation on the basis of mutual confidence and reciprocal benefit. We have long realized that a balanced military stand-off would not be a sufficient basis for lasting security. We, therefore, together with our allies in NATO, began to look for security through better relations between governments. It is significant, I think, that a particularly Canadian approach to alliance -- one which Mr. Pearson had for many years advocated -- was vindicated by this process. For NATO in the course of the sixties began to evolve into what he had wanted for so long -- a truly consultative organization

where the great issues of peace could be discussed and the way prepared for a relaxation of tension in that most tense of continents -- Europe. This approach did not, of course, mean the abandonment of the physical means of security for the sake of a still hypothetical détente. One cannot hope -- or even wish -- to turn policy over as though it were a pancake. But change is in the nature of things -- the world will not stand still, given man's thirst of learning and his talent for technology. If we in the West have learned anything in these recent eventful years, it is that change is bad only if it occurs through violent convulsions and that the essential thing is to see that it is accomplished in a peaceful, progressive, orderly, step-by-step way.

At about the same time, the leadership in Eastern Europe, presented with the same facts, appeared to be coming to some of the same conclusions. There thus

began the slow, sometimes awkward, crablike approach towards a new relationship which is commonly called "détente" in the West and "peaceful coexistence" in Communist terminology. There are still many in East and West who look back at the relative stability of the last quarter century to conclude that two armed and guarded camps are the most essential element of safety. But I believe that realistic people looking ahead into the last quarter of this century know that some modification in this approach will be necessary.

What sort of modification? That is the big question mark that hangs over the détente process at this important stage of East-West relations. From the point of view of Canadians -- and not only Canadians, I believe -- it will not be good enough if the answer is the mere replacement of opposing armed camps of steel with closed camps of the mind. While there may be a stability of sorts

through mutual deterrence, there can be little prospect of peaceful change and development in a mutually antagonistic political and intellectual life. Some call for peaceful coexistence of systems and governments -- and that is certainly part of what we are all looking for. But coexistence without an element of change -- without the ability to adjust to our rapidly developing world and its new challenges -- will bring a rigidity and even a brittleness which cannot help but endanger both sides. As my predecessor said in his address at Helsinki:

"There must be a broader and more dynamic concept of coexistence of people as well as states, of ideas and way of life as well as of regimes and systems. How otherwise can they enrich one another and promote the ideals of mankind? Otherwise we will have only uneasy existence in which real détente -- lasting and rewarding for all -- will be impossible."

This then is the outlook with which we have approached the negotiating process that has now reached a decisive stage at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe taking place in Geneva. What our representatives there are trying to do is to negotiate a realistic, workable compromise between the two approaches to relations between governments and between people -- to find common elements and to leave open as many possibilities as can be for future improvements in these relations.

This is not to say that peaceful relations between states, so insistently advocated by the Eastern European countries, are not important. They are indeed, and if declarations of principle will help to ensure political stability in the international sphere, we will gladly continue to cooperate in their enunciation -- particularly since they will convince many of the safety

of planning on the basis of a generally peaceful and settled political environment. But the decalogue of Helsinki must not be engraved on tablets of stone at Geneva. The element of dynamism, the possibility of progressive change must be implicit even in interstate relations. Perhaps for this reason, more than any other, we have insisted that the CSCE is not a peace conference -- a new Versailles that would harden inequities and prolong the bitterness that come from the division and alienation of peoples.

When Canada spoke of dynamic coexistence at Helsinki, we had in mind something far broader -- something that would influence significantly the shape of developments in Europe and North America over the coming years. At the same time let me make it as clear as I can -- this process of confidence-building and adaptation is not intended as a threat to anyone. Our wish is to exchange

distrust and hostility for tolerance and confidence, not simply to create an arena for the elimination of one system by another. The CSCE and whatever follows must have a more positive objective -- the mutual acceptance and accommodation of systems -- or it will be a failure.

For Canadians and others who live in "open societies", the role and influence of people, of individuals, are an integral part of the dynamism of international relations. Foreign policy, to be relevant and meaningful, must enjoy public understanding and support. For us, therefore, it is important to consider relations between people as well as relations between states or political systems. If we are to improve relations between East and West, and this is the fundamental purpose of the CSCE, then it is essential to ensure that there are improvements in those areas

that affect the peoples of our countries directly.

The exchange of views, ideas and experiences to which your conference is devoted is of course a part of this essential process in East/West relations. In CSCE terminology you are engaged in the improvement of human contacts, of information and of access to culture -- the essence of the so-called "Basket Three".

Progress in Basket Three is not something that can be achieved by the stroke of a pen at a single spectacular meeting of high state dignitaries, or by putting basic issues off indefinitely into the future. It can be accomplished only by small steps -- by the progressive reduction of the barriers to the movement of people, ideas and culture. At Geneva we must start not by abandoning the discussion of key problems (as some have suggested) but by opening doors and indicating the directions in which we should go after we pass through

them. The general principles of freer movement of persons, ideas, culture and trade, which were accepted at Helsinki, should now be firmly established, and some means chosen -- the more obviously needed ones -- to begin the process of practical implementation. The Canadian Delegation at Geneva, in company with our friends, has emphasized some aspects of human contacts which will have the most obvious effect -- both psychologically and in a humanitarian sense. The first steps in human contacts can be accomplished by removing the irritants of divided families, spouses and engaged couples, and by improving and increasing the possibility of visits by individuals and groups between East and West.

Greater access to the publications of both Eastern and Western Europe, coupled with a freer access to each other's culture are also obvious first steps in creating the basis for the degree of confidence that

must permeate all levels of relations if we are to achieve stability in the future. Confidence and stability must indeed be the watchwords in an increasingly interdependent world.

One of the major problems that we have encountered at the CSCE is the insistence of certain participants on the sanctity of "laws, customs and regulations". This is another way of saying that national laws and systems should prevail whenever they come into conflict with international laws and obligations. I suggest there is another, more enlightened approach. Each state has, of course, the sovereign right to decide what it will accept by way of international obligations but once it has done so I believe it is under a moral compunction to see that these obligations are fulfilled. This is surely the only realistic basis for international cooperation. In other

words, if a national law or practice conflicts with an undertaking given at the CSCE, there will have to be an understanding among participants that something will be done about it. Just as with a trade agreement, if tariff or tax laws do not permit the fulfilment of an undertaking, they are changed; this is an accepted international practice.

Thus, when one asks why CSCE is taking so long, why there are so many difficulties, why participants are so meticulous, so "bureaucratic", this is the main reason. The kind of understandings we need for détente were perhaps not fully perceived by some at the outset, when many thought we were beginning an elaborate public relations exercise with little content. Détente will not be achieved so easily. The CSCE, if it is to succeed, has much more fundamental objectives. For each country, there are a few issues that, in its view, should be

addressed in the form of principles or of practical provisions if détente is to be a reality. I have mentioned some of our own ideas. None of this will make for an easy passage, or a facile move to the third and final stage, or to some kind of follow up procedures. We warned our friends a year ago that we foresaw a long conference: I can tell them again now that for the same reasons a long hard pull still lies ahead if we are to achieve balanced and substantial results of practical and lasting value.

As far as Canada is concerned, we are prepared to be as patient, as constructive and as flexible as necessary to achieve such results. But they must be balanced as well as substantial, and that will require a further effort by all the participants. If in the end it has to be admitted that the results achieved are not both balanced and substantial, then so be it. Better to

be realistic enough to acknowledge the facts than to indulge in pretence or wishful thinking. On the whole, however, and in spite of the painful slowness of the negotiations, I find more ground for optimism than for pessimism. There is reason to think that attitudes are slowly changing -- not, as some think, because some participants are willing to hold out longer than others, but because all involved may be coming to realize what will be possible at this time and what doors must be opened for future progress.

Thus we approach the reopening of the Geneva meetings next week with modest confidence and measured hope. We know that time and patience are needed, as one would expect in complex negotiations such as these, and that the decisions called for from governments are difficult ones. But as long as governments are prepared to face up to decisions like these -- the decisions

involved in more cooperative relations between states and more open relations between people -- they are less likely to be considering the expansion of military potential. Conversely, if the participating governments find it impossible to take such decisions at this time, let no one underestimate the significance not only for the CSCE but also for relations between states with different political and economic systems. For my part, I think there is a considerable desire not only to come to a positive conclusion at the CSCE but to go on to ensure that what is accomplished on paper there will be put into practice. If that all-important step can be taken, there will be real reason for confidence in the development of East-West relations in the years to come.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SEPTEMBER 9, 1974

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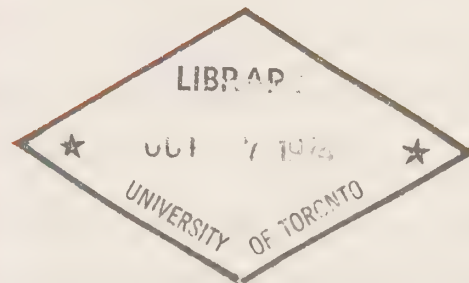
STATEMENT DISCOURS

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NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE ALLAN J. MACEACHEN,
TO THE ATLANTIC TREATY ASSOCIATION,
OTTAWA, SEPTEMBER 9, 1974



I am particularly pleased that the Atlantic Treaty Association accepted the invitation of the Atlantic Council of Canada to meet in Ottawa in this the 25th anniversary year of the Alliance itself. I appreciate the opportunity this has given me, after having only recently been named Secretary of State for External Affairs, to comment on the Atlantic Alliance which provides a framework for co-operation between Canada, Europe and the United States in the common security of our territories. As I am sure you are all aware, but three months ago, the Foreign Ministers of the NATO nations met here in Ottawa and issued a document attesting to the continuing worth and vigour of the Alliance - I am speaking, of course, of the "Ottawa Declaration". The signing of this singularly important document demonstrated the truly dynamic nature of our Alliance.

Looking back over the past 25 years, I am struck by the way in which NATO has maintained our common security through varied and changing circumstances. Despite the awesome technological developments in weapons of destruction, and especially nuclear weapons, and despite numerous challenges to our political ways of life, NATO has made and continues to make a fundamental contribution to the security of its members. With this increased stability came a period of relative peace and economic prosperity on both sides of the Atlantic. This is the tangible achievement of NATO's collective approach to security.

Twenty-five years ago the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington, giving birth to the Atlantic Alliance - a unique association of 15 countries designed primarily to ensure the preservation of peace and the security of its members through a collective approach to defence. Faced with

a threat to their security while Europe was still recovering from the ravages of the Second World War, the western countries resolved to group themselves into an alliance that would give substance to a collective resolve to resist aggression. But can any truly viable alliance among such diverse nations as ours be forged from the mere will to resist aggression? It is doubtful to me, as I am sure it is to all of you, that a mere grouping of tanks, planes and men could survive the changes which have taken place over the past 25 years, without some common thread, some intricate link binding its members. Across the street from where we are gathered now, is a building which symbolizes to all Canadians the true nature of our democratic process. I think it particularly appropriate that when the Foreign Ministers of the NATO Allies gathered recently in Ottawa, they were welcomed by my Prime Minister in that building. If there is an ingredient, a common link, a uniting thread which is prized by each of the members of our community of nations, it is the structure of freedom that such buildings symbolize: liberty of the individual, an understanding of our diversities and a belief in the necessity of the preservation of peace. If the vitality of this community is to be maintained, it will be because our organisation, in spite of some failings, has succeeded in reflecting, in its policies and in its actions, the desires and aspirations of all men to reach a common understanding through use of words and not arms, through co-operation and not confrontation.

The tangible expression of these ideals are manifest not only in the forces which we maintain for collective defence and security. Canadians have always attached importance to the North Atlantic Council as a forum for systematic consultation amongst close friends on a wide variety of questions of mutual interest. The exchange of views with 14 of our closest friends

has, I am sure, been of benefit to us all. Eighteen years ago a report on non-military co-operation in NATO was produced by three distinguished statesmen, including the late Prime Minister of Canada, Lester B. Pearson. This report, which has come to be known as that of the "Three Wise Men", is indicative of a sensitivity to these broader dimensions of the Alliance which is more evident today than at any other time in our history. There is reason for satisfaction that this report provided, perhaps, the basic impetus which has guided us along the path of détente.

In our view, co-operation in NATO can extend, and has in fact extended, beyond the security and political fields with which the Alliance is principally identified. This was amply demonstrated in Ottawa last year during the plenary meeting held here of NATO's Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society and it will be demonstrated again in a few weeks time when the NATO Science Committee meets here in this very chamber. In matters of science, technology and the environment, the Alliance has provided opportunities for an exchange of knowledge and expertise which has proved beneficial to all mankind.

Thus, one distinct feature of our Alliance is that it is not simply a group of nations forced together by outward circumstances or by geography. We are neighbours that find cohesion in our common ideals. We can work in harmony because of our dedication to democratic principles. And so, in speaking of this 25th anniversary year as being the year of the revitalization of the Atlantic Alliance, we should bear in mind the evolution of the activities of our Alliance and its contribution over the past 25 years to improved conditions for all mankind.

For, if we were to examine the activities of our 15 nations since 1949, it would become evident that the principles which guided our nations 25 years ago, have continued in force throughout this period and remain relevant today.

This Atlantic Alliance was created by men possessed of wisdom and tenacity. Their concern a quarter of a century ago was the protection of our way of life from common external threat. Today our civilisation faces numerous challenges, some of them unforeseen then by even the most farsighted. It has been our willingness as partners in NATO to face up to these issues of change that has proved the strength of the Alliance. We consider that NATO continues to be a most useful international forum for exchanging and discussing the views of its various members, not only through its structured organs, but, as well, through its adjunct bodies such as the Atlantic Treaty Association. This Association and the Atlantic Council of Canada enables parliamentarians and academics to involve themselves in foreign affairs and to expand and communicate their knowledge to others, by discussing the vital issues of the day with their counterparts from other NATO countries.

As a representative of a government committed to the principles and policies of the Atlantic Alliance, I hope that the exchange of views which takes place here this week will confirm the solidarity of the Alliance - not for the sake of solidarity alone, but as a result of a fundamental evaluation of why NATO exists and how we, collectively and individually benefit from it. While an open examination runs the risk of disenchantment, it is my view that a continuing examination of the basic principles which

constitute the underlying strength of the Alliance can only benefit its members.

The Alliance will remain strong as long as it enjoys wide public support in all its member nations. You have an essential role to play in explaining Alliance actions and policies to the people of your countries so that their support can be based on a proper understanding of what the Alliance is all about. In the end, public support depends on public acceptance of the Alliance as a body to which each member nation should belong. This acceptance is threatened if it appears to others that a member nation is taking action in its own interest at the expense of others.

In a publication of my Department which will be released in a few months, I have included a section on Canada and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. I should like to quote for you the last sentence of that particular section. It reads "The Alliance allows, and obliges, Canada to take an active role in European affairs and enunciates the interdependency of Europe and the North American continent". This is one of the realities of which I have just spoken. It is, therefore, more important than ever that we learn to understand one another. The nature of our relations may have changed and evolved, but the interests, the dedication to common objectives and principles, which served as the basis for our Alliance 25 years ago, still exist today and form one basis of our understanding. So if we speak of this year as being one of the revitalisation of the Alliance, yes, I agree. Perhaps the Ottawa Declaration has caused us to focus more clearly on these principles because we have rededicated our-

selves to them. But, I maintain, and I hope that you will agree that the Atlantic Alliance has constantly observed, and I know, will ever continue to dedicate itself to those principles which underly its basic viability.

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SPEECH BY
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE ALLAN J. MACEACHEN,
AT THE 29TH SESSION OF THE
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 25, 1974



Mr. President,

I take great pleasure in joining distinguished speakers who have preceded me in congratulating you, Sir, on election to your high office. My delegation is confident that under your wise guidance this twenty-ninth General Assembly will create the climate necessary to deal with the new world outlook so many speakers have foreseen during this general debate.

We are particularly aware of the leading role of your country in the non-aligned movement. Indeed, the initiative which Algeria took in calling for a special convocation of this Assembly earlier this year will be of signal importance to the work of this organization in the months and years ahead. The aims of the non-aligned countries as enunciated by President Boumediene in this chamber, merit recollection as we commence our work - the emancipation of all peoples in a context of international cooperation based on the equality of states, the respect for national sovereignty, and the establishment of a just peace throughout the world. These are ideals to which we can all readily subscribe.

The presence among us for the first time of the delegations from the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, following the accession of these three states to membership, is evidence of the continued march of this world organization toward universality. Canada was a co-sponsor of each of the three Resolutions supporting their membership and we are confident that each of these countries will make a distinctive contribution to our work at this session and in the future.

We have been deeply moved by the tragic aftermath of the hurricane which has devastated Honduras and surrounding regions. We have heard this morning from the Foreign Minister an appeal for international assistance. In this connection Canada has decided this morning to allocate \$525,000 for emergency relief efforts in areas affected by this natural disaster.

Some of the major political problems which faced the United Nations during its early years have now receded, and no longer figure so prominently in its deliberations. In particular, the cold war is giving way to growing cooperation and détente.

The last two decades have witnessed the resolute progress of peoples under colonial rule towards self-determination and independence. The past few months have seen particularly encouraging developments in the African territories which have been, or remain under, Portuguese administration. Guinea-Bissau has now attained its independence and negotiations to this end are under-way with regard to Mozambique and Angola. It is a matter of satisfaction to all supporters of the United Nations that Portugal has agreed to work with the appropriate U.N. bodies in the process of decolonization. We in Canada welcome these developments, and offer our encouragement to the Portuguese and African peoples concerned in their search for early equitable and peaceful solutions to remaining problems.

Elsewhere, some fragile yet hopeful progress has been made in the past year towards settling certain of the regional conflicts that still exist. Lest we be lulled into an unrealistic sense of security, however, the recent events in Cyprus serve to remind us how quickly a slowly simmering dispute can degenerate into a serious threat to international peace and security.

If we have in the past months been reminded of the fragility of international peace and security, we have also come to realize the fragility of international monetary and trade relations.

Accelerating rates of inflation and declining rates of growth, high interest rates and low stock prices - together with a widespread sense of unease - mark the problems facing the international economy. There is no doubt that the higher energy costs will require much more financing and in time massive adjustments on the part of those countries both developed and developing - whose payments positions have been most severely affected.

No people or government can of itself deal with the problems of inflation and unemployment, of trade imbalances and currency fluctuations. None will be immune if short-sighted and selfish policies lead to graver repercussions. These are not simply technical problems - questions of currency flows, trade barriers, and exchange rates. They are matters of human dignity. Unemployment, malnutrition, starvation, and lack of shelter are an affront to all of us. We ignore them at the risk of our own welfare and security.

A renewal and strengthening of international cooperation is an urgent requirement if we are to sustain social progress and economic development. We all have a responsibility to contribute to such cooperation. Those countries which command massive financial resources have however a special responsibility for seeing that such resources are invested in a helpful and constructive manner - that their use strengthens, rather than disturbs, the health of the world economy.

At the present time there is no more urgent development issue than the vigour of the world economy. When production and demand falter, all of us - whether developed or developing - suffer. Difficulties in the developed countries translate into distress in developing countries and something akin to disaster in the most seriously affected.

If there are grounds for apprehension there are also signs of hope:

- some important steps have been taken in the International Monetary Fund toward a systematic and progressive re-ordering of the monetary system;
- the onset of a major trade negotiation appears to be drawing nearer;
- a number of industrialized countries have pledged themselves to exert their best effort to avoid trade restrictive measures in response to balance of payment difficulties.

But much more needs to be done. Development assistance should be maintained and where possible increased. The responsible international institutions should be strongly supported. The habit of consultation should be strengthened.

These considerations will influence Canada's thinking at this United Nations session, as at other international meetings. There are two such meetings to which I wish to draw special attention. This autumn governments will meet at the World Food Conference to adopt a programme aimed at securing a sufficiency of food for all. Next year they will meet here in New York at the Seventh Special Session on Development. The Canadian Government attaches great importance to the work of these conferences. We will exert our very best efforts to ensure their success.

Mr. President, in seeking solutions to our political and economic problems we cannot forget that we face another pressing task - to ensure that human beings are alive to enjoy the improved circumstances we are seeking for them.

Our security is threatened more than ever today by developments in nuclear and conventional warfare.

One of the most urgent problems of our times is how to bring the nuclear arms race under control in order to ensure international stability and the avoidance of nuclear war. The nuclear powers have the direct responsibility for overcoming this grave problem. At the same time that we face the immediate dangers of

existing nuclear arsenals, we are confronted - as the Secretary General has warned - with a heightened risk of the wider dissemination of such arsenals. Here all states have a responsibility. Canada takes seriously its share of that responsibility.

Specifically, the problem we face is to devise a system which will allow the dissemination of the benefits of nuclear energy without at the same time contributing to the spread of nuclear weapons. The international community has attempted to devise a system to cope with this problem. Canada has been very active in this endeavour. But the system could be strengthened further.

We have developed a valuable system of nuclear power generation and we believe that nuclear power should not be withheld from those whose energy needs can best be met by this method. We are deeply committed to the cause of international development but equally we are anxious to avoid contributing to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

In addition to our requirements, and subject to security and resource limitations, we want to make our nuclear power generating system available to other countries. However, until more adequate internationally agreed measures are instituted, Canada intends to satisfy itself that any country using Canadian supplied nuclear technology or material will be subject to binding obligations that the technology or material will not be used in the fabrication of nuclear explosive devices for whatever purpose. To this end Canada attaches special importance to the role of nuclear safeguards applied by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The need for truly effective anti-proliferation measures fully accepted and applied by the international community is pressing. The nuclear technology involved is no longer beyond the reach of a growing number of countries. The costs of developing a nuclear explosive device are no longer prohibitive. The principal problem is to obtain the necessary materials. Every day more and more of these materials are being developed throughout the world and the problem of controlling their movement, as well as their use, is becoming proportionately greater.

The phenomenon of proliferation is, in political terms, something like a nuclear chain reaction. With the successful explosion of a nuclear device by each newcomer to the ranks of the nuclear

powers, the greater grows the desire of other countries "to go nuclear". In a world without truly effective safeguards they feel their national existence threatened. If each new nuclear weapon state prompted its neighbour to follow its example all concerned would find their security quickly undermined.

We believe that it is the very existence of nuclear explosive devices that presents the hazard to humanity and it increases in proportion to the number of countries possessing them. One need make no distinctions in terms of what countries possess such devices. The danger lies as much in the number of countries that have them as in the policies of the possessors.

If we are to avoid a nuclear catastrophe we must accept that there are practical limits to the application of the principle of non-discrimination. My Government urges the international community to accept the obligation not to contribute to the uncontrolled spread of nuclear explosive capability, and the safeguards required to ensure compliance with that obligation.

Our aim is to seek broadly international measures which will halt both the multiplication and the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons, and which will check the spread of the technology of nuclear explosive devices and the further development of that technology as applied to nuclear weapons. The Non-Proliferation Treaty, the efforts to limit strategic arms, and the achievement of a comprehensive test ban are designed to serve these objectives. As for the halting of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, all states should undertake not to transfer nuclear technology or materials except under international supervision aimed at ensuring that the transfer is not used for fabricating nuclear explosive devices. In addition, all states should place their inventories of nuclear fissile material they hold for peaceful purposes under international supervision. Nuclear weapon states should, as a first step towards this objective, place their peaceful nuclear facilities under this supervision and seek to halt their production of fissile material for weapons purposes. International supervision of fissile material is the best available means for the international community to be assured of each state's peaceful intentions. This would allow states to concentrate on the development and distribution of much-needed nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

The nuclear threat to our security may be dramatic and awe-inspiring but we cannot neglect the more prosaic but lethal threat from the use of conventional force.

One of the few useful tools which we have developed so far to deal with this problem is peacekeeping by a United Nations sponsored force. Canada has responded positively to United Nations requests and has been engaged in virtually all of the United Nations peacekeeping operations to date. This has not been without cost in lives of Canadians and of those from the forces of the other participating countries.

Our interest is therefore obvious. There is no doubt in my mind that an overwhelming majority of Canadians continue to accept the importance and the usefulness of a United Nations peacekeeping role. But I would be less than candid if I did not admit that Canadians are today less inclined to accept in an unquestioning way the burdens of participation. Their concern springs mainly from the fact that peacekeeping endeavours often seem to do no more than perpetuate an uneasy status quo.

If United Nations' peacekeeping activity is to be fully effective it must be accompanied by a parallel effort on the political level, especially by the parties most directly concerned, to convert the temporary peace that a peacekeeping force is asked to maintain into something more durable. If this is not done, and if those who contribute to peacekeeping roles are faced with indefinite prolongation of their hazardous tasks, I am afraid governments will be less willing to respond to future requests for troops.

The past year has seen two new peacekeeping operations established in the Middle East and the force in Cyprus reinforced. These developments were important in themselves but they are also capable of teaching us lessons for the future. From the Canadian standpoint the operations in the Middle East are working effectively and are making an essential contribution to the maintenance of the ceasefire and disengagement agreements. But equally important, new principles have been established in the process. Participants have been drawn from a broader base than in the past, and a sounder financial foundation for the operations has been laid through a general assessment of the United Nations membership. These innovations have contributed to effective peacekeeping in the Middle East for the present, and will enhance the prospect of more effective peacekeeping in the future.

There are less grounds for satisfaction in the case of Cyprus. There, despite the presence of United Nations' peacekeeping

forces fighting has taken place on an unprecedented scale because the long-smouldering political problem remained unresolved. Moreover, it has been demonstrated once again in Cyprus that without the agreement and cooperation of the disputants, the constructive role of a peacekeeping force is severely circumscribed.

If the usefulness of the United Nations in peacekeeping is to be maintained and expanded, new principles and techniques to strengthen it must be found. The machinery is at hand under the Charter to ensure an effective United Nations response to future peacekeeping needs. The advantages of agreement in advance on how United Nations peacekeeping should be directed and controlled are obvious. The experience of the United Nations Emergency Force could point the way to such agreement or guidelines for peacekeeping operations under the overall authority of the Security Council, with a system of shared responsibilities among the Security Council, the Secretary-General, the troop contributors, and the parties directly concerned in the field. This organization can scarcely afford to neglect any instrument which might have a contribution to make in helping to defuse situations of armed conflict. It is the hope of my Government that member states will continue to give this problem the attention it deserves.

Mr. President, I have touched upon a few of the pressing political and economic problems which demand the attention of this Assembly. But I have dwelt upon two major problems of security - peacekeeping and the proliferation of nuclear explosive devices. As the Secretary-General has pointed out the proliferation of nuclear explosive devices could help to "create almost unimaginable dangers for the survival of our civilization and the human race". I do not, therefore, apologize for my pre-occupation with these problems.

Mr. President, I would not wish to conclude my remarks without paying tribute to the work of the Secretary-General and his staff at headquarters and throughout the world in carrying forward the wide spectrum of tasks which challenge our organization. In the introduction to the Secretary-General's report he said the following "We are reminded every day of how thin the margin is between order and chaos, between sufficiency and desperate want, between peace and annihilation. If we wish to overcome the vast anxieties and uncertainties of our time, we have to make a conscious and concerted effort to change course and to make some of our stated objectives into realities."

At this 29th Session, the Canadian delegation pledges itself to work with all other delegations to move towards our common goals.

OCTOBER 10, 1974

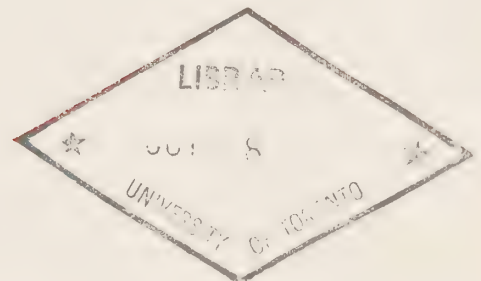
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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE
ALLAN J. MACEACHEN, ON THE U.S.
PROPOSAL FOR QUOTAS ON IMPORTS OF
CATTLE, SWINE, BEEF AND PORK
FROM CANADA



The Canadian Government has been informed that the United States has announced today that they will be undertaking a public hearing concerning proposed restriction on the importation of certain livestock and meat products from Canada. They indicated that these restrictions were being considered as a consequence of Canadian import quotas on beef, veal and live cattle on August 12.

The Canadian Government was given advance notification of the proposed United States' action and has already registered its strong concern with the United States Government.

The objective of the Government of Canada in introducing import quotas on live cattle and beef from all countries was to ensure that the Canadian programme of stabilization of returns to livestock producers was not adversely affected by declining world market conditions. In the absence of the stabilization programme the long-term future of the Canadian industry would have been jeopardized by short-term trends.

We were concerned that a fundamental disequilibrium in world beef production and consumption has resulted in serious problems for beef producers. This situation was accentuated when both Japan and the E.E.C. adopted policies which severely restrict beef imports. In addition per capita consumption of beef in the United States declined sharply in 1973, largely as a consequence of United States Government actions. This has contributed to an oversupply situation there this year. A combination of these plus other factors has led to the current world beef situation.

The quotas imposed by the Canadian Government were designed to ensure that in this period of disequilibrium shipments to Canada would not exceed volumes which the Canadian market has been traditionally able to absorb during normal market conditions. Therefore, the quotas were based on the average of imports over the last five years.

The United States of America (along with our other trading partners) was advised in advance of the Canadian action. We offered to meet with the three trading partners principally involved. Consultations were held with the United States but it was not found possible to meet United States' concerns.

In keeping with our trade agreement obligations with the United States, Canada immediately notified the G.A.T.T. Subsequently, we advised the G.A.T.T. that our action was taken under Article XIX of the General Agreement which provides internationally agreed procedures for dealing with emergency action against imports to protect domestic producers from serious injury.

The Canadian Government regrets that the United States intends to proceed with measures to restrict Canadian exports to that market. When United States' hearings are completed and details of the proposed United States' action are known Canada will consider its position in light of the extent of the United States' action and the established procedures available in the G.A.T.T.

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OCTOBER 24, 1974

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Message to the Secretary-General of the
United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim on the
occasion of UN Day.



On behalf of the Government and People of Canada, I wish to convey to you, and all the staff members of the United Nations and its affiliated organizations, our warmest wishes on the occasion of the twenty-ninth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. We are indebted by the steadfast and dedicated efforts of yourself and all others who, through the United Nations System, seek to achieve the aims envisaged over a quarter century ago. It is with a sense of pride in its past accomplishments, and of confidence in its future, that Canada looks this day to the world organization.

Canada also thinks of humanity as a whole on this day, which coincides appropriately with the second World Development Information Day. Development issues have increasingly occupied the attention of the world community this year, with the holding of the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Raw Materials and Development, the World Population Conference in Bucharest and the first session of the Law of the Sea Conference in Caracas. Attention will continue to be focussed on development in the coming months as we approach the World Food Conference, further Law of the Sea meetings, and the Special Session of the General Assembly to be held next year, at the mid-point of the Second Development Decade. We believe that through public awareness of the problems of development, the will of governments honestly to seek solutions to these problems, and the continued vigorous determination and perserverance of the United Nations staff concerned with these problems, much can be achieved in the struggle to make possible for the peoples of the world a life of increasing harmony and prosperity.

On the occasion of United Nations Day, 1974, Mr. Secretary-General, I am pleased to reaffirm Canada's dedication to the ideals and principles expressed in the Charter and Canada's support for the United Nations Organization in its efforts to embody those principles in action.

Allan J. McEachen.

STATEMENT DISCOURS

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SPEECH BY

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
THE HONOURABLE ALLAN J. MACEACHEN

TO THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE, ROME

NOVEMBER 6, 1974



Mr. President,

I wish to join those who have spoken before me to congratulate you on your election to preside over our proceedings.

You bring to your High Office a range of learning and of experience that bear directly on the matters we have before us. The acclamation by which you were elected expressed the confidence of this Conference in your capacity to help us bring our deliberations to a fruitful conclusion.

I should also like to pay tribute to the Secretary General of the Conference. He, too, is no stranger to the problems we shall be surveying. His special credentials are reflected in the quality of the preparatory work that has been done. Given the importance of the Conference, there has been all too little time to set the parameters of our discussions. Nevertheless, it seems to my delegation that we have rarely entered upon a Conference where the issues have been set out with greater clarity or the solutions with greater realism than in the documents the Secretary General has put before us.

This Conference is engaged on a mission to seek the elimination of hunger -- man's oldest scourge and most persistent enemy. Together with the Law of the Sea Conference in Caracas and the World Population Conference in Bucharest, it is part of a process of reassessment of man's global relationship to the resources that sustain him that may yield us a new consciousness of the global responsibilities carried by every nation and people. We in Canada will not shirk these responsibilities, and are willing to play our part in furthering those common endeavours which bear promise of helping to produce a lasting freedom from want for all mankind -- but the endeavours will remain barren if they are not truly common and truly sustained.

Hunger must today be tackled at every level -- at the family, village, province, country and region as well as the global level, for no unit of society bears any graver responsibility than that of feeding its people. In our present world community we are everywhere faced with an agonizing awareness of starvation wherever it occurs; and finding means to harness production around the world to alleviate it poses a challenge to our ingenuity as well as to our compassion. We in Canada recognize that our farmers can grow more than they do at present. To that end, we have recently taken several policy initiatives that will not only ensure that producers will have more stable and satisfactory returns, but that they will have a better transport and storage system to get their products to market. We believe that these initiatives will permit Canadian agriculture more nearly to reach its potential. We must however remember that, whatever food may move innately, most men for the foreseeable future will inevitably remain dependent on the food produced near to their neighbourhood markets.

It is for this reason that Canada emphatically supports the development of increased food production capacity by developing countries as the key to an anti-hunger strategy. Where opportunities for efficient food production exist my Government stands ready to accord it a high priority in our assistance programs. Canada has always been responsive to requests for assistance in this area. We are now carefully re-examining the skills and resources that may exist in Canada suitable for assisting the development of new agricultural and fisheries capacity in developing countries to determine practical ways of making them readily available.. We therefore intend to have a matching response for countries who set about energetically to mobilize their internal food production resources and who give a high development priority to efficient food production.

We know from experience that expanding food production on a secure basis is not easy. It demands adaptation of land and water, technology, research, finance, modernized storage and transport facilities, marketing organizations, planning, and government services; all of which may require changes to traditional modes of life./ Increased production is also facing barriers arising from supply shortages of certain inputs, notably nitrogenous fertilizers.. No deus ex machina will remove these impediments overnight, and each country must come to terms with them in its own way. Where Canada can help to make these problems more manageable it will, and it will strive to see access to inputs maintained internationally on an equitable non-discriminatory basis..

The situation of the "vulnerable groups" in food-deprived areas is a reproach to us all. The spectacle of two hundred million malnourished children, and of nursing mothers suffering on a similar scale, makes a mockery of the ideals professed by every society. The malnourished children of today must somehow be enabled to become the wellsprings of tomorrow's prosperity. This Conference should determine upon effective ways for directing a greater volume of food to these groups and make them priority recipients under international food assistance programs. UNICEF and the World Food Program, not to mention the voluntary organizations who form so much of the vanguard in this struggle, must be given the resources to develop programs to this end which are truly effective. Canada intends to play its full part in this effort.

We cannot ignore the fact that in the immediate future there will be a substantially increased demand for food imports in a number of countries that cannot pay for it. The food aid programs of many donor countries have hitherto been facilitated by the existence of "surplus stocks", which are now non-existent. Food aid is consequently falling off just when it is needed most. Yet the people fed by "surplus stocks" cannot be counted "surplus people", and their needs cannot

be written off. Canada has seen its commitment to these programs as a commitment to international solidarity and to human compassion. We do not intend to abandon them now. Food aid donors, and indeed all prosperous countries, have an obligation to maintain these flows while emergency conditions persist, and should expand them if possible. Conversely the recipients, past and future, have an obligation to take every reasonable measure to augment the availability of food locally, in order that food need not be diverted from those who are unavoidably hungry to feed those who are unavoidably starving.

Canada accepts the main elements of a long-term food aid policy which have been recommended to us. I shall now set forth the specific response of the Canadian government to these recommendations: First, the Canadian government accepts the concept of forward planning; it has decided to make its own commitment for the next three years. Second, it agrees with the concept that, if the eroding effect of sudden price increases on the levels of food aid is to be avoided, the best way of pledging food aid is in physical terms, that is to say, in quantities of food rather than in amounts of money. Third, Canada supports the setting of a minimum target for world aid flows of 10 million tons of foodgrains a year. Fourth, in pursuance of these principles which we have accepted, Canada hereby commits itself to supplying an average of 1,000,000 tons of foodgrains annually for each of the next three years. In pledging this more than proportional amount towards the total target, we have had in mind that it is a minimum target and that we are facing a situation of extraordinary gravity. We would hope that other traditional and new donors will subscribe with us to the objective of surpassing the minimum target. Fifth, Canada is prepared to increase substantially the allocation of commodities other than foodgrains for food aid purposes. Sixth, we accept the proposition that multilateral food aid programs have operated to good and beneficial effect and that their continued effectiveness must be buttressed by adequate resources. Accordingly, we are prepared to channel approximately 20 percent of Canada's food aid through these multilateral programs. In order to carry out this commitment Canada will make a supplementary contribution to the World Food Program.

This, Mr. President, is the substance of Canada's response to the situation of acute distress that is confronting us.

In the longer term there is clearly a need to define more closely the circumstances where food aid is appropriate, and avoid the disincentives it causes in indigenous production. There is merit in suggestions that grain stocks for emergency relief be set aside on some consistent international basis, and arrangements made for their rapid mobilization when needed, and we will help pursue this question.

Canada has long been a proponent of grains arrangements that would augment world food security, and of other measures to this end. At last year's FAO Conference Canada supported the principle of a voluntary undertaking on world food security and since then has participated actively in the consideration of alternative texts. The voluntary undertaking that is before the Conference contains a framework of objectives whose attainment would be a significant world achievement. Canada endorses the undertaking, and will, once suitable country coverage and implementation arrangements have been concluded become a party to it. We must not blind ourselves, however, to the fact that much work remains to be done, particularly among the countries chiefly concerned, to make meaningful food security a reality. In this demanding and detailed task Canada will participate fully.

World food security in its broadest sense can only be attained by the prudent management of food supplies at every level -- a situation where governments, growers and traders in every country use their best judgement and foresight to assess probable needs and supplies. Canada has provided a key element in world food security in the past through its supply management and maintenance of stocks. This task is one we would be happy to share more widely. Improved information can play a big role, and we hope to see all the countries at this Conference contribute extensively and accurately to the proposed Early Warning System. Food-importing countries have an evident self-interest in improving their storage capacity, which would augment world security. On a longer-term basis security is most likely to come from providing producers and traders with stable expectations of a financial return commensurate with the value of their product -- a value which few people anywhere today would be inclined to denigrate.

Two allied international fields of concern are inextricably bound up with the food problem:

- international trade, and
- the preservation of the environment.

Canada has long supported a general liberalization of trade in food products, in order to encourage the efficient producer and thereby provide more abundant food at reasonable prices. This is one of our main objectives in the impending trade negotiations in Geneva. We recognize that certain food-importing countries face an enormous challenge in meeting their food bills in the short and medium term, and that this dilemma arises in some respects from factors beyond their control. This payments problem extends into every aspect of the economies of the countries concerned, however, and it is principally through general financial measures, including those taken within the IMF or IBRD, that Canada would expect to see this problem attacked. We are confident that the

Geneva trade negotiations will follow the directives of the Tokyo Ministerial Meeting of the GATT in September 1973 and secure additional benefits for the trade of developing countries, and Canada will strive to see this accomplished within a non-discriminatory trading framework.

In the longer-term perspective mankind has no choice but to arrange his feeding in harmony with a balanced use of all the earth's resources, or his civilization will go the way of those of Nineveh and Babylon -- which destroyed the soils that fed them. The World Population Conference at Bucharest marked the first, albeit halting, step towards using a full range of policies to control the pressures exerted on this planet's resources. Progress in this area must be accelerated. Already we are experiencing declines in catches of certain species of ocean fish, and the sea is not the only resource whose capacity might come to be tested in the foreseeable future.

World food production has maintained a precarious adequacy through notable research accomplishments and through the application of modern technology. To gain further ground these efforts must be redoubled, but our perspective of the problem must also be widened so that entire eco-systems can be used to greatest advantage and a lasting equilibrium can be achieved. Mr. President, I have outlined in some detail the Canadian position on the various elements of the World Food Strategy that the Secretary General has set before us. We recognize that this strategy, if it is to bear fruit, will require a reordering of priorities on all our parts. But we also recognize that it will require the mobilization of vastly greater resources for agriculture both nationally and by the international community. We believe that the time to set this World Food Strategy on its right course is here and now, by this Conference. As an earnest of Canada's commitment to the solution of the world food problem, I am pleased to announce that the Canadian government has decided to allocate at once the sum of \$50 million of Canada's development assistance to be used in ways which will make an effective impact on the present critical situation.

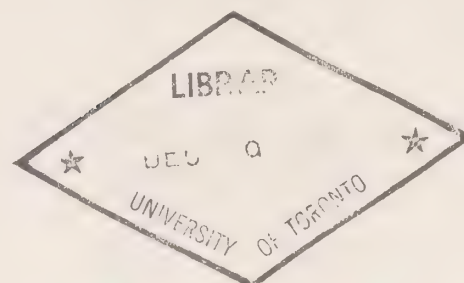
The primary aim of this Conference, as we see it, is to produce at every level of society an awareness of the affront to the human conscience that hunger constitutes, wherever it exists, and a determination to make its elimination a basic policy goal of all governments represented here. If that is to be the result of our Conference, its conclusions cannot be allowed to implement themselves. We must try to ensure that we have the mechanisms that will enable us to monitor and review the progress that is being made, to correct the strategy when and where it needs correcting, and to see to it that existing and new resources are used to promote agricultural development in a coherent and effective manner. It is our view, Mr. President, that in this essential process of pursuit, full advantage should be taken of the experience and the established competence of the organizations that have a contribution to make to the solution of the world food problem. This is not to say that all should remain as it is but that

we should approach the matter of institutional arrangements with economy and good sense. On October 30 the Prime Minister of Canada met in Ottawa with the Premiers of the ten Canadian provinces to discuss the problem of inflation. My Prime Minister took this opportunity to raise with his colleagues from the provinces the world food problem. They told him that they were also preoccupied by it and that provincial governments were prepared to cooperate with the Government of Canada in contributions to the resolution of the world food problem. I think this vividly reflects the seriousness with which the Canadian people view the problems before this Conference. Future generations have a claim on our intelligence and our compassion, as do today's, and if we do our work well they may come to look back on this Conference as the starting point for the development of a global process that gave each man, in truth, his daily bread.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES



CORRECTIONS

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE CHANGES MADE IN PRESENTATION OF THE STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 20, 1974 ON PALESTINE.

P. 1 ADD BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE TEXT "MR. PRESIDENT,"

P. 2, 1ST PARAGRAPH, LAST LINE SHOULD READ "MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE DEPENDS UPON FULL RECOGNITION OF THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL AND ITS RIGHT TO SURVIVE."

P. 2, 2ND PARAGRAPH, LAST LINE, REPLACE "THE SAME" WITH "SOME".

P. 2, 3RD PARAGRAPH, LAST LINE, REPLACE "ISRAEL IN OUR VIEW IS A PRINCIPAL DECIDING PARTY." WITH "ISRAEL IS AN ESSENTIAL PARTY IN DECIDING THE QUESTION."

P. 3, PARAGRAPH 3, 1ST LINE. ADD "MR. PRESIDENT," AFTER "IT WILL BE CLEAR".

CORRECTIONS

CI-DESSOUS SONT LES CHANGEMENTS FAITS LORS DE LA DÉCLARATION DU SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT AUX AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES À L'ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE DES NATIONS-UNIES À NEW YORK LE 20 NOVEMBRE.

P. 1 AJOUTER "MONSIEUR LE PRÉSIDENT," AVANT LE COMMENCEMENT DU TEXTE.

P. 1 AJOUTER LE SOUS-TITRE SUIVANT "DROIT À L'EXISTENCE DE L'ÉTAT D'ISRAËL ET DES AUTRES ÉTATS" APRÈS LE 2^E PARAGRAPHE.

P. 1 AJOUTER LE SOUS-TITRE SUIVANT APRÈS LE 3^E PARAGRAPHE "DROIT DES PALESTINIENS DE PARTICIPER À TOUT RÈGLEMENT".

P. 2 AJOUTER LE SOUS-TITRE SUIVANT AU COMMENCEMENT DE LA PAGE "CONdamnATION DU TERRORISME".

P. 2, 1^E PARAGRAPHE, LA DERNIÈRE LIGNE DOIT LIRE "IL S'ENSUIT QUE SI LE DIALOGUE DOIT ÊTRE PROFITABLE IL IMPORTE QUE L'EXISTENCE MÊME D'ISRAËL ET SON DROIT DE SURVIE SOIENT D'ABORD PLEINEMENT RECONNUS."

P. 2, 3^E PARAGRAPHE, LA DERNIÈRE LIGNE DOIT LIRE "VOILÀ UNE QUESTION QUE LES PARTIES DIRECTEMENT EN CAUSE DEVRONT TRANCHER ELLES-MÊMES DANS LE CADRE DE LEURS EFFORTS RENOUVELÉS EN VUE D'UNE PAIX NÉGOCIÉE ET L'ÉTAT D'ISRAËL A UN RÔLE ESSENTIEL À JOUER À CET ÉGARD."

P.3, PARAGRAPHE 3, 1^{ÈRE} LIGNE. AJOUTER "MONSIEUR LE PRÉSIDENT," AVANT "IL EST DONC...".

Canada

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NOVEMBER 20, 1974

STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY
OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS.

SECRÉTAIRE
D'ÉTAT AUX
AFFAIRES
EXTÉRIEURES.



NOTES FOR A STATEMENT BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS OF CANADA, THE HONOURABLE
ALLAN J. MACEachEN, TO THE UNITED
NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, NEW YORK,
NOVEMBER 20, 1974.

"PALESTINE"

No one who is familiar with the developments in the Middle East in the past quarter century can fail to be deeply moved by the human suffering which has been caused by the perpetual upheaval, insecurity and armed conflict in that region. Though far removed from this area, Canada has not and could not remain indifferent to this tragedy and has tried to make a helpful contribution to the United Nations' efforts to grapple with the problem.

Canada's fundamental concern has always been to help bring about a just and durable peace. To be just it must take full account of the legitimate interests of all the peoples and to be durable it must be developed and accepted by all. No imposed solution could endure.

Right to Exist of Israel and of Other States

We consider it essential to any lasting and comprehensive settlement that there be respect for the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the political independence of Israel and of every other state in the Middle East. We remain opposed to any attempt to challenge the right of Israel or the right of any other state in the region to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threat and acts of force.

Right of Palestinians to Participate in Settlement

The important issue we are now examining, concerning the status of the Palestinians and their role in efforts to achieve a negotiated peace, has figured prominently in this tragic history. From the outset Canada has recognized that the Palestinians represent a major interested element in the Middle East situation. Security Council Resolution 242, firmly subscribed to by Canada since its adoption in 1967, called for a just settlement of the Palestine refugee problem. Canada has given and continues to give substantial financial support to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. Recent developments, including this debate, testify to the growing acknowledgement that cognizance must be taken of the need for the Palestinian people to be represented and heard in negotiations involving their destiny. Canada is fully in accord with the view that any enduring peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute must take account of the legitimate concerns of the Palestinians.

Condemnation of Terrorism

But we are convinced that these concerns must be, and realistically can only be, pursued by non-violent means. Canada condemns vigorously terrorism in whatever form and from whatever quarter it may occur. It has no place in any efforts to resolve the differences between the parties to this dispute. No one who seeks a role in a negotiated settlement no matter how legitimate his grievances are or how deep his frustrations may be can expect to be accepted at the negotiating table unless he sheds violence in favour of dialogue. Meaningful dialogue depends upon recognition of the existence of Israel and its right of survival.

We have noted with satisfaction that there have been within a relatively short space of time territorial adjustments on two fronts in the form of the existing disengagement agreements. We may also be witnessing a fundamental change of appreciation of existing realities on the part of both sides to the dispute. On the one hand, Arab governments appear more disposed to recognize Israel's right to exist. Israel, for its part, has reaffirmed its intention to pursue the search for peace with its Arab neighbours and to this end has indicated greater recognition of the fact that Palestinian concerns will have to be taken into account in the same way if real peace is to be achieved.

This said, Mr. President, the question is how legitimate Palestinian concerns are to be brought to bear in efforts to reach a just and durable settlement. Canada has firmly resisted giving advice on what form Palestinian representation should take in future negotiations. The claim of the Palestine Liberation Organization to represent the Palestinians is thus one which, in our view, is not for Canada to decide. It is a question which remains to be resolved by the parties directly involved in the course of their continuing efforts to work towards an agreed peace, and Israel in our view is a principal deciding party.

If recent developments have placed new emphasis on certain elements among the numerous factors which must be taken into account in any realistic move toward a peace settlement, nothing which has occurred derogates from Canada's conviction that Security Council Resolution 242 constitutes a valid framework for a just and equitable settlement. It remains our view that the equitable balance of obligations thereby laid down for the parties continues to provide them with important guidelines for their efforts to resolve their differences.

The integrity of that Security Council Resolution must be maintained, in particular by refraining from any action which would tend to emphasize one aspect to the exclusion of other equally valid principles. This applies, of course, to the Palestinian issue as to all the others involved. While important and indeed fundamental to the Arab-Israeli dispute, this issue evidently cannot be resolved separately and without consideration for other elements of the problem. We would be opposed to any unilateral actions which could be prejudicial to the comprehensive negotiated settlement which is being sought.

I have said, Mr. President, that the manner in which legitimate Palestinian concerns are to be represented in the course of the search for a peace settlement is a matter for agreement by the parties involved. The same principle clearly applies to the declared aspiration of the Palestine Liberation Organization to establish an independent national authority in the region. If the emergence of any Palestinian entity were to be envisaged at some stage, it would be essential that this should be the result of agreement among the parties directly involved which, of course, includes Israel. In this respect the establishment, evolution and existence of any such entity should in no way prejudice the continued existence of the State of Israel.

From what has been said, it will be clear that the Canadian Government believes a settlement cannot be imposed in the Middle East by outside forces. The will to make peace and the modalities and structures of an eventual settlement must be evolved by the parties directly concerned. We shall evaluate objectively any particular course which may be followed in the pursuit of peace basing ourselves on certain fundamental principles but free of any preconceived ideas as to the form and content of an eventual settlement. We shall continue to weigh events in direct relation to their likely impact on what has always been and remains for Canada the cardinal objective: the achievement of an agreed and lasting settlement between Israel and its Arab neighbours enabling all the states of the region to live in peace and security. Canada will continue whole-heartedly, through whatever means may be open to us, to support all efforts to this end.

Canada

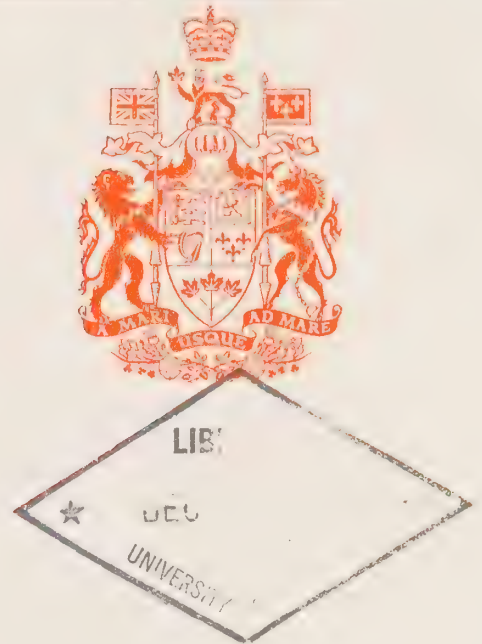
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NOTES FOR A STATEMENT BY
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE
ALLAN J. MACEachEN TO THE
ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY
TORONTO, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1974



Mr. Chairman,
Your Excellencies,
Members of the Royal Commonwealth Society,
Honoured Guests,

It gives me great pleasure to speak to members of the Toronto Branch of the Royal Commonwealth Society, and their guests. It gives me the opportunity to make new friends and to greet some old friends in a group whose presence here confirms their interest in public affairs.

It also gives me the opportunity to commend the Society publicly for its work. The promotion of interest in Commonwealth affairs by the National Council and the different Branches of the Society in Canada contributes greatly to a better understanding of the role and character of this unique association. Of particular merit, Mr. Chairman, is the work of the Society in sponsoring essay contests for Canadian youth on particular aspects of Commonwealth activity. Essential to a continued understanding of, and involvement in, the Commonwealth, is an awareness by our young people of its true nature and value. The work accomplished by the Society in this and other areas deserves the recognition commensurate with its importance.

Happily, I need not convince this audience that the Commonwealth is alive and well and living in a flourishing condition throughout the globe. But the cynics who have diagnosed the condition of the Commonwealth as moribund are legion. The late Dean Acheson, in one unfortunate extraterritorial foray in 1961, observed, not completely facetiously, that the Commonwealth did not exist, as it had no political structure, or unity, or strength.

In the Canadian judgment the evidence does not support this view. The association has both form and substance; the membership insists the Commonwealth continue and expand. The activities of the association, and of Commonwealth non-governmental organizations, grow; the Royal Commonwealth Society testifies to this. The Commonwealth persists, and like philosophy, consistently inters its undertakers.

Support for the Commonwealth remains a central element in Canadian foreign policy. Canada's commitment to the Commonwealth, which has evolved with time, is not the mere consequence of history; it is rather the consequence of the adaptive and responsive qualities of the association and its ability to accommodate and further policies and ideals consistent with Canadian national objectives.

The Commonwealth is a unique institution. Its members share a common language and a common historical experience. The Commonwealth includes no superpowers. It is not an arena of cold-war politics. It is not intended to pursue one specific goal, or to resolve one specific problem. It cannot be viewed purely in terms of developmental assistance, or of a donor-user equation. It draws its strength from the ideas and ideals inherent in British political traditions and from their humanist values, of which the Commonwealth countries are legatees. Infusing the Commonwealth are the attitudes of a community created by a common historical experience, from which so many of the habits, institutions, and values of Commonwealth countries continue to be built.

The common values held by members transcend racial, religious, cultural and geographic perimeters. They ease relationship and understanding. They bind members spanning all continents and stages of development, and embracing all races, in a mutual acknowledgement of equality. They condition Commonwealth activity. They permit free and frank discussion in Commonwealth assemblies unequalled elsewhere. These common values find expression in the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles adopted by Heads of Government at their Meeting in Singapore in 1971: human dignity and equality, individual participation in framing the national society, a more equitable international society, the freest possible flow of international trade on fair and equitable terms, and a multinational approach to peace and progress.

These values, held in common by members, endow the Commonwealth with the flexibility needed to respond to challenges as they occur. This adaptability was shown in the Commonwealth's adjustment to a sixfold increase in membership in the post-war period, and in establishing the Commonwealth Secretariat in 1965 to implement decisions, and to facilitate communication and co-operation. It is evident in the orientation of Commonwealth activity towards the concerns of newly independent members, and the increasing stress on functional co-operation responsive to the needs of all members. From it has sprung a distinct Commonwealth mentality, predicated on a willingness to collaborate on a basis of equality. The anglocentric order has disappeared, and with it the hierarchical structure which had characterized the association. This has been replaced by a lateral pattern of relations. It is working well, and to the benefit of all members, including Britain.

Above all the Commonwealth is concerned with people. As the Prime Minister put it at last year's Heads of Government Meeting, "We are concerned with the dignity of individual human beings and the improvement of the lot of ordinary men and women." In other words, answers to the world's problems which do not confer benefits upon ordinary human beings are not answers at all. And, in this, not only governments are involved but some 250 non-governmental Commonwealth organizations and societies. Here, I suggest, lies the Commonwealth's true strength. Foreign policy is, after all, only a framework: the people must make it live. It is not designed just to guide intergovernmental relations, but depends on public interest, which it reflects, and on public support.

Though largely unperceived outside it, the focus of Commonwealth activity has shifted away from purely political concerns during the last decade. This culminated in the 1973 Heads of Government Meeting in Ottawa, and the specific decision by Heads of Government "to make maximum use of Commonwealth machinery to put the principles of the Commonwealth Declaration into practice, and to accelerate the pace of social and economic development among the less affluent members". It is this dynamic element and this commitment which provide the key to the understanding and value of the Commonwealth today. Officially this finds expression through the programmes administered by the Commonwealth Secretariat. These programmes, begun since 1965, include the Commonwealth Foundation, established to increase exchanges between Commonwealth professional organizations; the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation with its triple focus of technical assistance, education and training, and export development; the Commonwealth Youth Programme, established in 1973 to involve young people in national development; and the Programme for Applied Studies in Government, to provide training for middle and senior-level government officials. Complementing this is the increased activity of non-governmental organizations in such diverse fields as medicine and law, science and education.

During this period leading to a concentration on functional cooperation, political questions were not ignored: the Commonwealth's discussion of apartheid, Rhodesia, and nuclear testing confirms this. Nor are political questions ignored now, as demonstrated by the decision by Heads of Government in 1973 to provide humanitarian assistance to the indigenous people of the territories of Southern Africa in their efforts to achieve self-determination, a decision prompting considerable change in Canada's own policy on this question. But politics per se do count for less, and when political questions arise, they are approached in a manner

which enables members to accept different positions, to identify the common elements in them, to determine whether they are amenable to Commonwealth treatment, and then to move forward from this agreed basis to a solution or an amelioration of the problem. The stress increasingly is on practical collaboration and cooperation, and the avoidance of futile political altercations.

The role of Canada, of successive Ministers and Prime Ministers, and of Prime Minister Trudeau in particular, was critical in engineering this change. It was largely through the interventions and suggestions of the Prime Minister at successive Heads of Government Meetings in London and Singapore in 1969 and 1971 and in Ottawa last year that this new focus for Commonwealth activity emerged so sharply. Illustrative of this was the proposal by Prime Minister Trudeau at Singapore that an item on comparative techniques of government be included in the agenda of future meetings.

It is a complex subject, including such problems as that of forward financial planning, and such philosophical ones as the relative functions of politicians and public servants. But the key problem of reaching the people, hearing from them and responding to their wishes is essentially the same for all governments at all levels. This subject was discussed by Heads of Government at their Meeting in Ottawa last year; it will again be on the agenda when they meet in Jamaica in April 1975.

With the decision by Heads of Government at their Meeting in Ottawa last year to reinforce and expand Commonwealth functional cooperation, trends and ideas evident in meetings going back a decade crystallized, and a new stage in the evolution of the association was reached.

Since this meeting, the scale and tempo of Commonwealth functional cooperation have increased remarkably. So has Canadian participation. The budget for the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation, stimulated in large part by the matching formula marking the Canadian contribution, has doubled, attaining a level of \$7.5 million. Our own contribution this year will likely reach the \$3 million mark. The Commonwealth Youth Programme, approved by Heads of Government in 1973, has set up a youth awards scheme and has established two regional centres for advanced studies in youth work and will soon inaugurate one more. The Commonwealth Foundation established, or helped establish, professional centres in Commonwealth capitals, financed a new journal on intermediate technology, and with the Canadian International Development Agency, strengthened an intra-Commonwealth bursary scheme to benefit agriculturalists and veterinary officers.

The Commonwealth Science Committee agreed to work more closely with the Commonwealth Secretariat, and to set definite objectives for intra-Commonwealth collaboration on establishing procedures and mechanics for national science policy, and for research management and administration. Education Ministers met last June and recommended, among other things, that copyright-free educational material be made available to Commonwealth developing countries and reprinted and distributed locally.

This month, the Commonwealth Medical Conference in Colombo examined the question of health service delivery in rural areas. Thirty-five specialized conferences and meetings have been held this year permitting detailed, in-depth examination, of specific questions, and exchanges of views and experience by participants based on long and varied experience.

Research papers for use by members have been prepared by the Secretariat. Among these were papers on relations between Commonwealth countries and the enlarged European Economic Community; the problem of equitable and remunerative terms of trade; the economic consequences of the increase of petroleum prices; multinational corporations; and possible Commonwealth action on fertilizer production.

The Secretariat provides support to Commonwealth governments in their negotiations with the European Community through studies on commodity exports, and on Community proposals to stabilize the export earnings of associates and potential associates, as well as those which have not been offered the option of association. The impact of such Secretariat assistance on the countries concerned is immediate and direct; its value and merit require no elaboration.

The Secretariat's Legal Division has arranged exchanges of information on new legislation, the work of Law Reform Commissions, case law and the administration of justice in general. Cabinet Secretaries meet to exchange views on forward planning and financial control in government, and to compare procedures and techniques, and to learn from one another in this most critical area of government operations. Following study of the question by an expert group, a report is being prepared on the feasibility of establishing a Commonwealth Investment Bank, intended to marshall concessionary and commercial resources into financial packages to promote projects in the directly productive sectors

of Commonwealth developing countries. Heads of Government will consider this report at their meeting in 1975 in Jamaica. Each of these activities has been oriented to the encouragement and intensification of cooperation.

These programmes mounted by the Commonwealth enjoy economies not available to multilateral programmes elsewhere. Overhead is low; costs of Secretariat programmes are less than 15%, liberating the bulk of the funds available for programme activity. The return for money invested is good value, and the programmes worthwhile. Response is rapid, and there is precision in meeting needs. In the case of smaller members, whose needs are not met by other multilateral programmes, Commonwealth assistance is often of critical value. The Commonwealth is thus an effective and efficient multilateral channel for aid.

Canada actively supports each of these programmes to which I have referred. We also contribute to Commonwealth development in the Secretariat, where Canadians fill positions at various levels. A former Torontonion, Arnold Smith, has been Secretary-General for ten years, and has rendered outstanding service to the Commonwealth.

But Canadian support rests on a variety of other considerations as well. The lines of communication, established over time, and the conventions which govern its activities are tried and tested instruments for diplomatic concourse. The association provides, through its evolution, a unique forum where members discuss and exchange views in complete candour and informality, on a basis of full equality. The practice of understanding differences and resolving problems, of seeking constructive solutions by agreement rather than by voting brings members together, rather than dividing them; this cohesion reinforces Commonwealth endeavour and makes cooperation easier. The Commonwealth allows us considerable latitude for action in a body where no superpower is a member. We understand the way it works. It is worth our while.

The Commonwealth provides access to, and makes us beneficiary of, ideas and experience, and a formidable repository of collective knowledge. The association facilitates relationships with member countries, and gives an added dimension to our bilateral relations. It acts as an antidote and counterweight to continental drift. The Commonwealth remains useful as a sounding board for our ideas, for gauging the response of members, and for calculating the likely response in larger forums. It is as well a source of

ideas in itself. It provides a particular perspective on international questions and, within the limits to which any international assembly is subject, a vehicle for their possible solution or amelioration.

The ideas and experiences exchanged and the programme operations may not be critical to continued Canadian development. They are, however, useful and do influence, however moderately, the pattern of development in Canada.

Within the ambit of Canadian foreign policy the Commonwealth provides one outlet for the national personality to be given some manifestation abroad. In this respect the Commonwealth provides a real theatre of action for an interested domestic constituency, such as the Royal Commonwealth Society, which wishes to participate in an identifiable and specific manner in international affairs. The Commonwealth is in the words of Prime Minister Trudeau, "our window on the world". It provides one more forum for our active participation in world affairs. Membership in the Commonwealth also represents a reinforcement and further extension of the calculated policy of diversification of Canadian interests and engagements throughout the world to offset the pull of continentalism.

The Commonwealth is the oldest international association to which we belong. It may be viewed as parallel to our involvement in the Agency for Technical and Cultural Cooperation, the Agence, its francophone counterpart. Our policy towards it will necessarily be conditioned by its aims and purposes, its composition, and the policies of member governments towards it. The larger number of developing countries within the Commonwealth, and their requirements, understandably orient its activities in this direction. This is not, however, an exclusive orientation. All members participate with equal status, and contribute collectively to Commonwealth endeavours. All share the benefits. This sense of community is imperative to the continued welfare and existence of the association, and it is our intent to nourish and to cultivate this sense.

We will continue to strengthen the association and preserve the candour and informality of its discussions, to encourage more active participation in it by members, and to support its development, and that of its non-governmental organizations, as instruments for greater practical co-operation.

In particular we will encourage greater involvement by members in Commonwealth endeavours to understand and correct the difficulties posed by the imperatives of continuing modernization. We view this as an essential element in maintaining the coherence of the association. In so doing we recognize the limits - both economic and political - to which the Commonwealth is subject, and the competing international priorities which vie vigorously for attention. These limits will not, however, restrict us in seeking the achievement of this triple objective.

The principles expressed in the Commonwealth Declaration are essential to the continued existence of the association in a form acceptable to Canada, and we shall persist in our support for them, and their application.

For Canada, Commonwealth activity has a direct, and distinct, impact on three separate levels. Nationally, it satisfies the aims and aspirations of Canadians; it meets a very real need, whether conscious or unconscious, to find expression for a wider range of contacts; it provides satisfaction for an altruistic wish to do something about the problems of the world. Within the Commonwealth itself, it reinforces the association; it helps to strengthen Commonwealth identity and character; it assists continuity of Commonwealth activities. Internationally, it reinforces the thrust of foreign policy generally, and helps us to do a job that must be done with Commonwealth colleagues. At all these levels, the association will continue to figure prominently in our calculations.

It is against this background that we are now preparing for the Heads of Government Meeting next April. The dynamic of international events will require us to add new questions to those with which Heads of Government are already familiar. The guideline must be to anticipate and analyse problems before they assume crisis proportions. We will, with other governments, rededicate ourselves to the value and continuity of Commonwealth achievement.

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